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REFLECTIONS,

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

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ERRATA.

P. 13. l. 2. For *Wittenagemot* read *Wittenagemote*.
P. 84. l. 3. dele *by*.
P. 107. l. 6. read *impliedly inherent*.
P. 116. l. 8. place *et*.
P. 124. l. 19. for *are* read *is*.
P. 226 l. 12. for *clameure* read *clameur*.
Ibid. l. 16. for *Elbauf* read *Elbœuf*.
P. 229. l. 3. for *depend* read *depends*.
P. 241. l. 11. for *too* read *two*.
P. 249. l. 1. dele *we live in*.
P. 266. l. 4. for *to* read *with*.
P. 268. l. 8. for *manufactures* read *manufacturers*.
Passim, for *Censorial* read *Censorian*.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL œconomy, when conſidered in the enlarged and completely ennobled view of things, may be ranked among the ſciences. It is in reſpect of ſtates, what morality is in relation to individuals, and both are intimately connected. The ſtandard of politics, as of the fine arts, ſhould be nature; all ſhould be a faithful imitation of her. The ſame moral rectitude that ought to regulate the actions of men, ſhould, all things equal, influence the conduct of kingdoms towards each other. But if that moral rectitude is rarely, if ever to be found ſtrictly adhered to in the ſocial intercourſe of individuals, it is ſtill leſs ſo in that of nations: For the errors that miſlead, the paſſions that make man ſwerve from the right path in the various occupations of ſociety, are multiplied in the aggregate national body he is a member of. Hence, the private quarrels, fears and jealouſies of a people among themſelves, are proportionally increaſed in their tranſactions as a public body politic with the

neighbouring countries. The ſcenes of human depravity diſcloſed in courts of judicature, in the dealings between man and man, are but epitomes of the greater evils occaſioned by warring nations; they are but parts of the whole, they are miſchiefs confined to narrower circles; national misfortunes circulate in larger ſpheres. Where families are involved in the ruin incident to the one, whole ſtates are in the other. He that wantonly, and to gratify a wild ambition, would tread on the ruins of a family, contributes, what in him lies, to the ruin of his country, compoſed of numbers of families; and the converſe holds as infallibly, he that would ſacrifice nations to his falſe ſchemes of power, and miſtaken ſources of wealth, neceſſarily involves in one general wreck all the individuals they conſiſt of. For the ſtate culprit, there is this to be ſaid, that his miſdeeds may proceed from error in judgment, and no bad intention: But the invader of the peace of domeſtic ſociety, admits of no ſuch vindication; his conduct is incapable of palliatives, deſtitute of ſubterfuge; in the midſt of his career, however ſucceſsful, he muſt have his moments of compunction, if not his days of retribution.

Still there may, and ought to be a check to theſe growing evils, a remedy for ſuch abuſes; and

that ſhould be found in the governing powers, in kings and their miniſters. From an union of morals and politics, and from that ſource alone can flow the happineſs of individuals, the peace of nations, the repoſe of the univerſe.

As in kingly governments, almoſt all we know of, hereditary deſcent, not election, and wiſely ſo, is the rule of ſucceſſion; where the meaſures purſued in them, depend on the ſole and unlimited will of the Sovereign, if they are bad, the ſubject has much to ſuffer, he much to anſwer to his God, to himſelf, and his country. Nor are the miſeries of a weak or wicked reign confined to the period of its own exiſtence, but are entailed on a ſeries of ſucceſſive generations. Happy are the people whoſe lot it is, without the diſorders and civil contentions of an elective monarchy, to be under the dominion of one whoſe ſole aim is to form their happineſs; whoſe chief ſtudy is to diffuſe the ſame ſecurity and tranquillity round the cottage as his palace; to leave with the poor and induſtrious the fruits of their labour; to extend to all under him indiſcriminately the protection of the laws. Such a one, when he is called to ſurrender his earthly charge, to give an account of it before the King of Kings, is followed to the tomb with the tears of his people; his

name is tranſmitted to poſterity with the grateful acknowledgments of poets and hiſtorians.

What a contraſt to ſuch a philanthropic Prince does he form, who, to gratify a wanton cruel ambition, ſtalks through the havoc and devaſtation of provinces; ſports with lives not his property, but entruſted to his care; for the acquiſition of countries he never ſaw, the ſubjection of people he never knew; who pants after fading laurels ſteeped in the blood of thouſands, purchaſes the vain and empty titles of Warrior, Hero, Conqueror, at the expence of every thing dear to his own peace, and that of his fellow creatures? Let ſuch a one tremble on his throne before the gazing multitude, amid the flattering deluſions of his courtiers, when the man is loſt, or ſeems to be, in ſomething more than human. But when in retirement, in his moſt ſecret receſſes, ſtripped of all his ſtate and pageantry, at the ſilent midnight hour, reduced to the wants and infirmities of human nature with the pooreſt of his ſubjects, it is then he ſhrinks under the horrors of his diſturbed conſcience, that robs him of that repoſe not denied to the peaſant's labours.

What depends on miniſters to aid the good, or prevent the bad deſigns of their maſters,

for the ſake of humanity, let it be done. They who are choſen from among the people, to guide and direct them, ſhould be ſuch as are eminent for the united qualities of the head and heart. It is not enough that they are poſſeſſed of popular brilliant talents, to command attention in the ſenate, lead aſſemblies; they ought, to the ſtateſman, to join the moral character, to form laſting plans for the proſperity of the nations, the good of the people, and on ſuch to build their own greatneſs. Temporary expedients from day to day, are not the objects of a wiſe adminiſtration, much leſs are the meaſures that ſacrifice the preſent to future generations, or future to the preſent, as is ſo uniformly done in the ruinous ſyſtem of funding. When the ſucceeding race, in addition to the miſeries tranſmitted to them by their predeceſſors, have perhaps to ſtruggle with ſimilar or greater, of their own creation, what and how deplorable muſt be their ſituation, if ours is ſuch with all the anticipation of their wealth, of ſtrength not our own, and borrowed aſſumed reſources. Exceſſive taxes are certain marks of a declining ſtate; they are the artificial ſupplies of the defect of natural ſtrength, and as ſuch in politics, where nature is the beſt and moſt infallible guide, as throughout the circle of arts and ſciences, they reduce the nations that have recourſe to

them, to the fatal neceſſity of increaſing, in proportion to their inability to bear them.

Let but one great, brave, active, diſintereſted man, ariſe, ſays Bolingbroke, and he will be received, followed, almoſt adored. There never was a criſis ſo ripe as the preſent, for the appearance of ſuch a one to ſave the ſtate : And ſuch a one, I truſt, we have. Let any perſon of taſte and diſcernment read the ſame author's Idea of a Patriot King, and ſay whether he is not ſtruck with it to a degree of raviſhment. It is for want of philanthropic princes and ſtateſmen, that political ſcience aſpires not to thoſe ſublimer ſpeculations, that might conſider the world as one great republic, compoſed of ſeveral ſubdiviſions, all linked together in one common federal bond of union, adopting their ſeveral ſalutary laws and inſtitutions, ſupplying each others wants with their reſpective ſuperfluities, rivals only in induſtry, and the arts of peace, ſupplanting all diſtruſts and jealouſies of commerce with an honeſt and laudable emulation, in conformity to the maxims of ſound policy, the dictates of natural liberty ; ſwords beat into plough-ſhares, and ſpears into pruning-hooks. It is in the degeneracy of politics that nations adopt that ſelfiſh ſyſtem, which teaches, that each can only effect its own good, in proportion

to the injuries it occaſions to its neighbours. It is in the degeneracy of both ſciences, morals and politics, the practical deficiency and falling off from the more refined truths they contain, that in the one, in private life, prevails domeſtic intrigue, in the other, or public life, correſponding with it keeps pace political intrigue. In either, the diminutive contracted ſcale is the rule of conduct; in neither, the completely enlarged, ennobled view of things. Hence it is, that all ſuch theories are treated as viſionary, Atlantic and Utopian, and inſtead of the practice deducible from them, that uninterrupted ſeries of wars, that deſolation of ſtates and empires, that, almoſt from the firſt records of time, to the preſent day, ſtain the annals of mankind, and fill the tragic and bloody pages.

In ſuch a perverted arrangement of things, patriotiſm, not ranked among the Chriſtian, becomes a neceſſary virtue. Whatever pretenſions to that name the following ſheets may have, their aim certainly is the defence of this, not the attack of any other country. It has had enough, too much of grandeur and conqueſt; not war now, but peace, not the acquiſition of more, but retention of what it is poſſeſſed of, is its object: To avoid the one, and ſecure the other, a proper ſtate of defence is the only means left. To accompliſh that end, the favourable opportunity of

peace is to be ſeized on, to retrench the burdens of paſt wars, the better to be prepared for future, that there is no preventing. If, in theſe exhortations to the Britiſh nation, to guard againſt ſurrounding dangers, in the comparative view, drawn between it and its rival power, much is ſaid againſt that power, as much might be ſaid for an individual naturalized in, though not native of it, whoſe labours are an ornament, not only to his country, but to human nature : Who has happily blended the characters of profound ſtateſman, financier and moraliſt; whoſe ſentiments, had they earlier enlightened the world, and been earlier adopted by thoſe moſt intereſted in them, are ſuch as would have effectually prevented the calamitous ſituation of both countries; and even now, late as it is, if ſteadily purſued, and invariably adhered to, might ſtill retrieve them from it. But the diſmiſſion of ſo uncorrupted a character, ſo philanthropic and able a ſtateſman from his employments, inſtead of the reward due to his ſingular merits, is no favourable ſymptom in thoſe he ſerved of converſion to his meaſures, announce no adoption of his line of politics, the more juſt and practicable, as they are in that due medium between the two extremes, that the ancient and modern writers have fallen into, the Atlantic, Utopian notions indulged on the one hand, and the

Machiavelian abandoned principles given way to on the other, which view men in no other light than as mere machines.

If to his integrity, to his religious and political principles, this great man owes his fall, it is to female arts and intrigues, that is to be aſcribed the diſgrace of him, whoſe meaſures, in the conduct of the peace of Paris 1763, laid the foundation of the preſent relative ſituations of the two countries. Such is the government of that country, which this has to cope with; and if ſo fluctuating, influenced by ſuch ſecret and indirect ſprings, operating on the will of the monarch, which knows no control, what ſecurity could we ever have had, or can expect to have, on its treaties, or ſtipulated engagements.

States, when well inſtituted, ſhould be frequently brought back to their firſt principles; and if badly framed, made to ſpring, as from a ſecond origin; as the human race itſelf, did, on the irruption of the barbarous nations. From the chaos, the confuſion of the dark middle ages, reſulting from their invaſions, gradually aroſe the preſent order of European policy. Human nature, exhauſted and worn out in forming the maſters of the old world, was recruited, and reſtored from the frozen loins of the

North, for the ſucceeding generations that were to occupy the new; and they proceeding in the ſame train of degeneracy and corruption, ſeem to be ripening for another ſuch viſitation, from whatever quarter it comes.

If the immortal Newton had reaſon to aſſign the *vis inertiæ*, as a principle of bodies, how much more applicable is the rule to the moral world, where minds continue longeſt in the train they have been put in, and moſt inflexibly retain the impreſſions they have received. So true is it, that cuſtom, though blind and bad, becomes a ſecond nature, with its iron ſceptre rules the univerſe, drowning the voice, and not liſtening to the precepts of that primary nature, that does nothing in vain. So difficult is it, to take away from human errors, the venerable ruſt of antiquity: A happy effect, which not even the light of revelation itſelf, has been able to produce, in diſpelling that darkneſs, in which it found the world; the abuſe of which, has, on the contrary, added to the evils it was given to remove. Nor are we rouſed from that ſtate of indifference, freed from the ſhackles of cuſtom, to remedy abuſes, receive impreſſions of truth, but by ſome great and ſudden calamity, ſome unexpected revolution, or the efforts of a heaven-born genius, ſent to inſtruct and reform mankind, to extricate them out of the laby-

rinths of error, that had long involved and perplexed them. If inſtances were to be adduced in ſupport of this obſervation, we have a remarkable one in the barbarous cuſtom of the expoſition of new-born infants, that prevailed at Athens. In its rude ſtate, it had its origin, but its inveteracy was ſuch, as to make it ſurvive Athenian civilization.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus.———

It is not in a lethargic ſupineneſs we are to be lulled ſecure, that is unwilling more than unable to ſtem the preſent tide of affairs, but there is a correction of abuſes, a ſyſtem of political œconomy, not to be diſpenſed with, that the perverted order of things requires, the luxury and degeneracy of the times demand. The beſt alleviation of private adverſity, is public proſperity; but when both conſpire, as, at this hour, in this iſland, to oppreſs it and its inhabitants, how many thouſands are labouring under the joint burden, and how many thouſands more, are well nigh ſinking under it.

Let not our negligence reduce us to the inextricable dilemma, in which Livy found and lamented the Roman State, neither able to bear its evils, nor the remedies applicable to them. Now, either ſilence or neutrality, would be as criminal, as ever Solon made it at Athens. A zeal, at leaſt, for the

ſervice of the country, will appear throughout this detail; if, in ſome inſtances, it is carried to exceſs, in others miſtaken, in none, it is truſted, will it ſeem lukewarm.

The three leading objects, amid the variety that preſent themſelves in the following ſheets, are, *1ſt*, An attempt to ſhew what a country, both ſeparately conſidered, and contraſted with others, has been ſacrificed to injudicious plans of government: *2dly*, Where the political defects and errors have lain: *3dly*, What different ſyſtem of policy remains to be adopted, as beſt calculated to extricate it out of its preſent declining ſtate, by an enquiry into the means left for its recovery and re-eſtabliſhment. Every topic here diſcuſſed, is ſubordinate to, and has a tendency, mediate or immediate, to theſe three main ends and deſigns.

HISTORICAL DEDUCTION

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

SOME hiſtorians and antiquarians contend, that the Saxon Wittenagemot, was a ſketch of the preſent parliament; that in it was an aſſemblage of the three eſtates of the kingdom. But as they may not be all agreed on a point of ſo high antiquity, and between the different opinions, a deciſion may be attended with its difficulties, where the records, of ſo remote a date, are involved in ſo much doubt and obſcurity, it is ſafe, at leaſt, to conclude, that under the Saxon kings, Alfred the Great, the founder of the Britiſh ſtate, Arthur the Britiſh Worthy, Edward the Conſeſſor, there were wiſe and wholeſome legal; inſtitutions; and chiefly that great bulwark of our law, the trial by jury, a regular government eſta-

bliſhed, a conſiderable portion of liberty diffuſed through all ranks and deſcriptions of men.

The Saxon government, laws, civil and criminal, juriſdiction, manners, cuſtoms, language, all were entirely ſuppreſſed and effaced, with not a veſtige left, at the Norman conqueſt. The faint dawnings of liberty, that appeared in the nation before it, were at it ſtifled in the birth, ſacrificed to the ſlaviſh ſubordination of the feudal ſyſtem, then at once tranſplanted into theſe realms from the continent, in its full growth and maturity. No revolution, in any age or country, has been more ſudden than this, attended with greater ſucceſs, changes more violent, or more complete in its operations, with conſequences more extenſive.

A discussion of William's legal title, is more the province of hiſtorians, and rather foreign to this deſign: Whether he or Edgar Atheling was the heir to the Crown; whether he was named heir in Edward the Confeſſor's teſtament; theſe are facts that require a long inveſtigation, and variety of materials to aſcertain them. The point of right, Whether, ſuppoſing the legal title not veſted in him, Edward could, by will, appoint him his ſucceſſor at that period of the conſtitution, would lead into another length of argument here

to be waved. It would certainly appear not, as the hereditary monarchy of the freeſt people of the times, was then eſtabliſhed. Harold, it is on all hands agreed, had no title to the throne, but being ſeconded by a part of the nation, the competition was brought to the deciſion of arms at Haſtings, and, in thoſe days, generally a ſingle battle decided the fate of kingdoms. But the pretended legal title, veſted in William by deſcent, was preferable to, and not to be obliterated by any, that the right of arms could furniſh him with; of which truth he himſelf was well aware, and in the whole courſe of his reign, never availed himſelf of that of Conqueror: Hiſtorians have given it him, or Feudiſts, in conformity to their law, in which conqueſt ſignifies acquiſition; as in the Scottiſh law, derived from the ſame ſource, it does to this day.

But if William did not aſſume the title of Conqueror, he exerciſed all the rights belonging to it in their utmoſt extent. The feudal ſyſtem, which, in all the other countries of Europe it was received in, made its advances by ſlow degrees, and in regular progreſſion through the temporary fiefs during pleaſure, to thoſe for life, and from them to thoſe that were hereditary, he introduced into this country, in its full vigour, in its laſt ſtage of

improvement. In the ſpirit of it ſo framed, he parcelled out the whole lands in the kingdom among his followers, exerciſed the game and foreſt laws with the greateſt ſeverity, eſtabliſhed a military government on the ruins of the civil. Such was the rigour of it, as to occaſion a revolt, not only of the natives, but of the Normans alſo; both fruitleſs, owing to their want of concert and union, on which has uniformly depended, as will appear from the hiſtorical deduction of our free conſtitution here attempted, the ſucceſs of the people for its advancement, as from their diſunion reſulted the revolutions that retarded it.

In proportion as the mutual diſtruſts and jealouſies of the Engliſh and Normans diſappeared, as the memory of the paſt injuries was obliterated, and their conſtant intercourſe, intermarriages, joined with the lenient hand of time, had confounded all diſtinctions, conſolidated them into one people, their condition was gradually improved, the ſeverity of their yoke relaxed, firſt in the charter granted by Henry I. then in the revival of the ancient mode of trial by jury; and the regular adminiſtration of juſtice in the circuit courts eſtabliſhed by Henry II. all auſpicious preludes to the important conceſſions made by King John.

The great advantage that enabled England ſo early to aſſert its liberty, and, after ſo happily laying the foundation of it in Magna Charta, invariably and progreſſively to purſue the object of its completion, in rearing it to that ſtandard and model of perfection, long ſince the admiration of the univerſe, was its unity and concentrated force as a kingdom. During the greateſt rigour of the feudal ſyſtem, from the conqueſt to the reign of King John, it had but one uncontrolled maſter to obey; all eyes were of courſe directed to him, the condition of the ſubjects, whether Nobles or Commons, was one and the ſame unlimited ſtate of ſubjection. As all ranks and orders of men mutually ſhared in their ſufferings, ſo were the advantages likely to be reciprocal, that were to be derived to their ſituation, and the cauſe, that had for its object the attainment of them, a common one. If fellow-feeling did not lead to ſuch an union of intereſts, at leaſt neceſſity did, as the nation divided againſt itſelf was not equal to the work of reform, but united was, and more particularly when, in its union, it had but one object, the regal power, to contemplate, and contend with, and that centered in hands too weak to wield the ſceptre.

The end obtained in that memorable conteſt for liberty, was proportioned to the means conducive

to it. The grievances of the nation, previous to it, were general, the riſing of it all at once, to redreſs them, was ſo too. What remained for a weak and defenceleſs king to do in ſuch a deſperate extremity, deſerted by his followers, almoſt to a man, but ſurrender at diſcretion, and receive the law from his exaſperated ſubjects? In that ſituation, he ſigned the famous Magna Charta, with the charter of the foreſt, aboliſhing the tyrannical part of the foreſt laws. Proportionable privileges to thoſe obtained by the immediate vaſſals of the Crown, were communicated to their dependants. With arms in their hands, the Commons that contributed to the emancipation of the Barons, could not be ſuppoſed to lay them down, till they themſelves were placed in the ſame degree of freedom.

Personal ſecurity, the ſecurity of property, the regulation of judicature in the trial by jury, the mercantile intereſts, thoſe four cardinal points of rights, that ſo remarkably eſtabliſh the importance of that contract, all claſſes and deſcriptions of men were called to a full participation of: And ſo diffuſed was the influence of this national good, in its thirty-eight articles, ſo low did it deſcend, that the implements of tillage of the villain or bondman, were ſecured againſt forfeiture.

Thus this country, exhibits a ſingular phenomenon in hiſtory, paſſing all at once, as it were, *per ſaltum*, ſo Judge Hales expreſſes himſelf, from the extreme of feudal ſubjection, to the extreme of popular freedom, as will be allowed, at leaſt, when with this great and important event are connected, the immediate reſult of it, the improvements made on it, after ſo ſhort an interval, in Edward the Firſt's reign.

This is the epoch of the firſt glorious, and ſucceſsful exertion of the ſpirit of liberty, in our iſland; and watchful muſt that ſpirit have been, that ſecured to itſelf forty ſubſequent confirmations of this famous charter, by renewals of them at the beginning of every reign, and repetitions of the confirmations in the ſame reigns. Edward I. confirmed it eleven times. But the corroborations, added to the confirmations it received from that Prince, ſtiled the Engliſh Juſtinian, from his many wiſe conſtitutional legal proviſions, ſtrongly mark a ſecond, moſt important æra, in the hiſtory of Engliſh law and liberty. That liberty, which owed its origin to the extorted conceſſions of a weak and infatuated prince, the greateſt ſucceeding monarchs, the Firſt and Third Edwards, voluntarily augmented, and improved with their numerous wholeſome regulations. During the courſe of centuries, and a

long line of reigning princes, however contrafted in the qualities of the heart or underftanding, from the beft to the worft, from the ftrongeft to the weakeft, in thofe intervals, that the free conftitution gained no additional ftrength, it loft no ground.

But the feudal fyftem had taken too deep root, to be fo fuddenly, and fo effectually eradicated, as was intended in thefe bold and rapid ftrides of our anceftors: The complete emancipation from that yoke, required the lenient hand of time, flower and more gradual advances. It was not in the nature of things, that any human inftitution, fhould at once be invented and perfected.

The laws in favour of the people, did not meet with that ftrict and impartial execution, that the Barons experienced, in thofe on which were founded their particular privileges and immunities. But even in that early period, in the infancy of our conftitution, we fee the growing power and increafe of influence of the Legiflature. Coeval with the exiftence of the Houfe of Commons, was its rife into that valuable and important privilege, granted it in conjunction with the other Houfe, by Edward I. in the ftatute, de Tallegio non concedendo, by which it was decreed, that no tax fhould be laid,

nor impoſt levied, without the joint conſent of Lords and Commons. The Engliſh knew not only how to gain a victory over lawleſs prerogative, but alſo how to uſe it. What early fruits did they reap from their ſucceſs at Runningmead! In the following reign under the uſurped authority of the Earl of Leiceſter, had the Houſe of Commons its riſe, and the legal ſanction was given to the creation by the next ſucceeding Prince; and with that ſanction, this moſt ineſtimable privilege, which ſupplementary of Magna Charta, formed the baſis of liberty, ſo broad and ſure, as to ſupport the admirable ſuperſtructure, which modern times have ſeen raiſed on it.

JOINED with the exerciſe of this power, but previous to it, we are to contemplate, in the period under review, the frequent petitions preferred by the Commons, for the redreſs of grievances, and the granting of them by the Crown made the condition of their grants of ſupplies to it in return. We ſee too, in this ſtage of our hiſtory, the frequent exerciſe of the authority of Parliament, in its interpoſitions to alter and regulate the ſucceſſion of our kings, impoſe entails and limitations on the Crown in its deſcent. We ſee a regular and uniform ſupport of its dignity, maintenance of its conſequence to a

degree ſurpriſing, when its yet but rudeſt ſtate is conſidered, as certainly it was its infant ſtate.

The ſucceſs of our civil eſtabliſhment at home, at this time, kept pace with that of our arms abroad. In which train things continued, till interrupted at that other memorable revolution in our affairs, the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, which for thirty years laid waſte the kingdom, exhauſted its beſt blood and treaſure.

This revolution was the firſt ſince the conqueſt, that was attended with conſequences detrimental to the cauſe of the people. The object of theſe obſtinate long continued civil broils and convulſions, was not how we ſhould be governed, but who ſhould govern; and the chief occupation of Parliament, during them, was to receive the law from the conqueror, to declare alternately for the ſucceſsful rival competitor for the Crown, to counteract in one ſeſſion the ſettlement it had made of it in another; *inter arma ſilent jura.*

Nor were the calamities attendant on theſe troubles confined to the period of their exiſtence; but their conſequences left ſuch deep and inveterate wounds in the conſtitution, as proved fatal to

it for ages. At the cloſe of them, the nation was in a ſimilar ſituation with that it was reduced to at the conqueſt; with this difference, that, at the one period, it had no laws, at the other, it had, and thoſe the moſt favourable to liberty, but which proved but a dead letter; at the one æra it had neither the reality nor appearance of freedom, at the other, it loſt the ſubſtance it had before enjoyed, and exchanged it for the mockery of its ſhew, and deception of its ſhadow.

As the acquiſition of its liberties, after the one epoch, was the effect of its united efforts, directed againſt one invader of them in poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſo the loſs of them was in conſequence of its diſunion and diſtraction between two contending rival houſes, competitors for the Crown. The claims of both centering in the perſon of Henry VII. by the double title of birth and marriage, that politic and enterpriſing prince availed himſelf amply of the tide of fortune in his favour, took advantage of the exhauſted ſtate of the people, after ſo violent a thirty years ſtruggle, anxious for peace, and laid the foundation of that arbitrary power with which the Tudor princes ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe realms. He built his policy on the fallen ſtate of the Barons: Depreſſed by their long and obſtinate wars, they became an eaſy prey to his ambitious

views, which were chiefly directed to the continuance of their depreſſion, that the people, deprived of their former ſucceſsful leaders, might be in no condition to moleſt his government, in attempts for the recovery of their dormant privileges.

As the ſtatute *de donis*, introductory of entails, ſupported them ſo much in the exerciſe of their former power and authority, that of *quia emptores*, empowering the ſale of entailed lands, was a profound ſtroke of his policy. He gained his immediate object in the meaſure, its operation as a bar to the recovery of the nobles' power, in paving the way for the transference into other hands of their property, the ſource of their greatneſs.

Here commenced the æra of the moſt abſolute regal power known in theſe realms, which continued during the whole line of the Tudors, during that period, in our hiſtory, elapſing between the fall of the nobles, and riſe of the commons. This race of princes inſtituted thoſe two arbitrary Tribunals, the Star Chamber and Court of High Commiſſion. The firſt allotted for civil affairs, adopting the tyrannical doctrine inculcated in Henry the Eighth's reign, that the king's proclamations had the force of law, often grounded its deciſions on them. It exerciſed an uncontrolled power over the liber-

ty of the preſs; treated with ſeverity, writers on political ſubjects; fixed the number of printers and printing preſſes; appointed a licencer, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to every publication. Regulations, theſe that now only exiſt in arbitrary governments, and which, when weighed with the aggravating circumſtance of this Tribunal's reſting its deciſions on its own ſole authority, independent of any trial by jury, and in them, an inſtrument devoted to court views, evince ours to have been in thoſe times, no other than arbitrary.

WHAT the Star Chamber was in civil affairs, that inquiſitorial Tribunal, the High Commiſſion, was in religious. Armed with ſuch engines of tyranny, Henry the VIII. was enabled to ſtrain the prerogative to a pitch altogether unprecedented. Yet, in the midſt of his violences and oppreſſions, in alleviation of the peoples wrongs, by a happy combination of circumſtances, he was ſuffered to be the author of the Reformation. He compenſated the ſacrifices he made of the nation's civil liberties by the introduction of its religious. His bloody treaſon laws were repealed in the minority of his ſucceſſor Edward the VI. of too ſhort continuance to let the nation breathe after the ſevere exactions, and cruel oppreſſions of the two preceding reigns, and fortify it againſt the bloody ſcenes of the ſuc-

ceeding; in which, together with the loſs of its civil liberties, it was again to ſuffer that of its recently acquired religious, and on the ruins of both, to ſee the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition. In the cauſe it was deſolated; in the conflict of contending opinions, its blood ſtreamed.

Another ſcene opened in Q. Elizabeth's days, another order of things was diſplayed. The Proteſtant religion was reſtored; victory attended her arms abroad, ſucceſs crowned her meaſures at home, inſured in the choice and conduct of the ableſt ſtateſmen for her miniſters, whoſe negotiations, foreign treaties and alliances, rendered the kingdom flouriſhing and reſpectable, promoted its trade and manufactures: The boaſted invincible Armada diſſipated and deſtroyed, in its deſtruction the pride of Spain humbled, its revolted ſubjects in the low countries encouraged and protected in their independence, all conſpired to render her yoke eaſy, and the burden of it light. The ſame arbitrary power eſtabliſhed by the firſt of the Tudor line, was ſucceſſively tranſmitted to her the laſt of it: Nor was it impaired or diminiſhed in her hands; the Star Chamber and High Commiſſion Court, thoſe inſtruments of oppreſſion ſtill continued, in an imperious tone, the exerciſe of their illegal functions: But ſhe ſo tempered the rigour of their pro-

ceedings with her addreſs, and inſinuation into the affection of her ſubjects, as joined with the eclat of her adminiſtration, the glory of her arms ſoon drowned any tranſient occaſional murmurs, and diſcontents in the tide of popularity, that ſo ſtrongly run in her favour.

THIS popularity towards the end of her reign, degenerated into the moſt abject and ſervile adoration: Some of the lateſt addreſſes of her Parliament, particularly one moſt remarkable, ſeems more calculated for an heathen Apotheoſis, than the language of that aſſembly to their Sovereign.

IN the mean time, commerce was continually flowing into our ports; the riches, it diffuſed, afforded the people the means of purchaſing; the fetters of entail removed from the noble fiefs, the abolition of the monaſteries at the Reformation, afforded objects of ſale; and thus property circulated among new poſſeſſors, who derived from it a weight in the conſtitution before unknown. The effects of this change began to appear at the cloſe of Q. Elizabeth's reign, in the Puritanical ſpirit that the Wentworths were at the head of, but then was ſtifled in its birth.

FATALLY for that line of kings, in whom centered the two Crowns, they were not ſufficiently aware of that combination of circumſtances, which tranſferred ſo much power into the hands of the people, and, not accommodating their views to the change of the times, they attempted the continuation of the prerogative in the ſame tone, without any relaxation of its ſprings, as alſo without any extraordinary tenſion of them, in which it was tranſmitted to them by their predeceſſors. Nor was it with the addreſs and ſuperior management, popular conduct of Elizabeth, that the attempt was made; which even with ſuch powerful ſupports, in the change of time and circumſtances, might have proved of no avail. But it was on diametrically oppoſite principles of action that James VI. relied for its ſucceſs, on the open avowal from the throne of the moſt unconſtitutional dangerous doctrines, the hereditary, indefeaſible right of kings, the ſacredneſs of their title, fulneſs of their power, as God's vicegerents on earth.

HERE the maſk was taken off, all diſguiſe laid aſide, the alarm was ſpread through the kingdom, the ſpirit of liberty, that had ſo long lain dormant, was now at length rouſed, the clouds began to gather that broke out into that dreadful ſtorm, that laid the kingdom waſte under his ſon Charles I.

He continuing to purſue the ſame line of meaſures, fully impreſſed with the ſame principles, and the times ſtill leſs bearing the ſame ſyſtem of politics, affairs ſoon came to a criſis, and that the moſt awful our hiſtory records.

This was the æra of the parties, the Cavaliers and Round Heads, a regular oppoſition was now formed againſt the court. In all ſuch critical ſituations, as that unfortunate prince was reduced to, the fatal error in general committed is, that the ſtronger party ſeldom knows when it ought to be ſatisfied with the conceſſions made to it, to deſiſt in its demands, nor the weaker when or how to make conceſſions. The Petition of Rights, the act 16th of the ſame reign, which declared all forced loans, and taxes called benevolences, illegal, aboliſhed arbitrary impriſonments, and the exerciſe of martial law, ſuppreſſed the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion Court, were ſuch advantages gained to liberty as might have ſatisfied the Commons, and gained them the appellation of the Deliverers of their country. But mutual diſtruſts and jealouſies ſerved only to inflame the contending parties, to widen the breach between them. The executive power firſt encroached on the legiſlative, in its attempt to govern without Parliaments: The legiſlative, not ſatisfied with having vindicated its rights,

in its turn encroached as far on the executive, in the usurped right of sitting in virtue of its own authority, retrenching from the Crown its prerogative of dissolving it.

The Commons, flushed with their success, now finding themselves possessed of strength sufficient to carry on the work of reform, independent of the Nobles, their former co-adjutors, when embarked in the same cause, and who then took the lead in it, pushed their advantages beyond the point, on which turned the balance of the constitution, overleaped the due limits prescribed to them by the wisdom of ages, at one time levelled their attacks against the first, at another against the second branch of legislation, now independent of it, and equal to the business of reform alone.

United, they first reared the standard of liberty, united, they fell in the full career towards the object of its completion. But the Commons fell but to rise again, without their former leaders, and even on their ruins. But when the Nobles of France were crushed, the people could not rise to any consequence without them, that never had with them, they remained sunk, as they ever had been.

Our House of Commons did not desist from their enterprizes, till confounding prerogative and

privilege, beginning with riot, tumult, and ſedition, they proceeded to the moſt cruel civil war, anarchy, and confuſion, a total overthrow of the conſtitution in Church and State, and on the ruins of both, the eſtabliſhment of a Commonwealth. But the end aimed at, in all theſe bloody means, was not accompliſhed, as in the Engliſh Commonwealth, there was no more real liberty, than in the Roman, and the loſs of it in both, proceeded from the ſame cauſe, the confuſion of the legiſlative and executive powers, which effected the abſolute dominion of a few popular leaders to paſs from them to one. There is no more certain axiom in politics, than that the dominion of all reſolves itſelf into that of a few; that of a few, finally into that of one.

The long Parliament, which ſat, in virtue of that unconſtitutional privilege derived to it, its own authority, independent of the King's power of diſſolution, ſacrificed in the wreck of the times, was the efficient cauſe of all the calamities of this reign. So rapidly, but yet through ſo much blood, ſuch ſcenes of horror and devaſtation, did this people paſs from the extreme of prerogative, to the extreme of privilege, both equally repugnant to that liberty, they in vain ſought after, which conſiſted only in the due medium between them, in their intemperate zeal tranſgreſſed.

The puritanical ſpirit that murmured only at the end of Elizabeth, and throughout James's reign, now raged aloud, ſerved much to carry the ſpirit of liberty to that exceſs, firſt ſtirred up, then heaped fuel on thoſe flames of civil diſcord, that laid waſte the three kingdoms in one general conflagration.

The cataſtrophe that cloſed this revolution, its tragical end, the recital of which may make kings tremble on their thrones, muſt here have a veil drawn over it.

This was the ſecond revolution unfavourable to liberty, in its immediate conſequences.

The reſtoration of monarchy was attended with a reſtoration of the ſame principles, that led to the preceding revolution, and that which followed. They were hereditary in the race of kings, that, in the laſt century, filled the throne: And Charles the Second's education in his adverſity on the continent, was calculated to confirm him in them, and fortify all his prejudices. The halcyon days of the reſtoration, were of ſhort duration. They were ſucceeded by a repetition of the recent mutual diſtruſts and jealouſies between king and people, a revival of the ſame principles, only taught more moderation in

their zeal, more temperature in their heat, by the ſad experience of the evils they had ſo lately eſcaped from. The parties, that under the names of Cavaliers and Round Heads in the late reign, rent the kingdom aſunder, in this, under thoſe of Court and Country, continued to divide it.

The foreign alliances entered into, ſo contrary to its true intereſts, the impolitic wars engaged in, contributed to widen the breach. Such an oppoſition of intereſts, ſuch unremitted ſtruggles between prerogative and privilege, could admit of nothing being left to diſcretion on either ſide, nothing undefined. There was an indiſpenſable neceſſity of drawing the line between them, allotting to each their preciſe boundaries, their ſeparate and diſtinct provinces. The reformation, accompliſhed in the late revolution, ſerved to bring back the conſtitution to its firſt principles, to diveſt it of all the engines of arbitrary power, with which the Tudors had loaded it: But much of the work ſtill remained to be done; and great was the progreſs made towards the completion of it in this reign, as the abolition of feudal tenures, the repeal of the laws againſt heretics, the bill for the meeting of Parliament, once, at leaſt, in three years, the Habeas Corpus act, in its preſent improved form, (for there

was another ſuch act before) that great bulwark of liberty, all ſo amply evince.

BARRIERS of ſuch a number and ſtrength, now raiſed to the conſtitution in theſe two ſucceſſive reigns, rendered it ſo ſecure, as to baffle all attacks that might be levelled againſt it. The vain attempts that James II. made for its ſubverſion, were the leaſt of all calculated for ſucceſs. His declarations of abſolute power, and unlimited obedience, his profeſſion of the Roman Catholic religion, ſo favourable to ſuch principles, and that ſo ſtrongly inculcated theſe doctrines, ſoon ſpread the alarm through the nation, brought things early to a criſis deciſive of his fate, and productive of an event, the moſt important and memorable on record. Actuated by his furious bigotted zeal, keeping no meaſures with his ſubjects, he ruſhed headlong on his ruin. In the late revolution, the alarm was for our civil liberties, and they not having been defined, or well underſtood, the nation was divided in the conteſt, the three kingdoms up in arms about them. In this the object to contend for, being both the civil and religious liberties, the religious, as dear as the civil, conſidering the ſufferings and calamities endured for them; the nation was in it united, the parties coaleſced, and what arms did in the one, and fatally too for liberty, in the other, a conven-

tion of the eſtates, a convention Parliament did, and moſt proſperouſly for the perfection of the conſtitution.

And here it is to be obſerved, of the four great revolutions, in the hiſtory of our conſtitution ſince the conqueſt, that the firſt and laſt, both ſo deciſive in its favour, the one in laying the foundation, the other in raiſing ſo admirable a ſuperſtructure on it, were effected by the unanimity of the people, in the one caſe, with arms in their hands, as no other remedy was left them before the exiſtence of Parliaments, in the other, by availing themſelves of that reſource in the more legal and conſtitutional manner, pointed out by it. But in both inſtances, the conteſt was momentary, whether that preceding the ſigning the Charter at Running-Mead, or the revolution in 1689, the deciſion of it, important in its conſequences, memorable in the event.

In the two intermediate revolutions, the one effected by the civil wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, the other by thoſe in Charles Firſt's reign, the conſequence of the diviſions was the loſs of liberty: The teſtimony of which periods proves, that there are times for our factions, and party-diviſions to ſleep, as well as to wake; that there are caſes of extreme neceſſity, times of

public danger, whether from within or from without, that we are to be armed at all points, and all distinctions to be at an end, to make way for unanimity, as productive of the only salutary national good. And there are dangers threatening our liberties from both quarters, more imminent, perhaps, from without than from within.

At no time were the effects of that union more remarkable, than at that under review; when the nation, pushed to extremity, withdrew its allegiance from a prince, who first had broken through all the ties of the most solemn engagements, by which it was bound to him. He finding himself stripped of all authority, at once reduced to the station of a private individual from that of a sovereign, in the utmost dilemma, perplexity and consternation, fled his capital, fled his kingdom: The Parliament, in his absence, seizing the critical moment, met in virtue of its own authority, declared the throne vacant, in consequence of the King's abdication, and proceeded to the nomination of a successor.

They availed themselves of the very singular concurrence of circumstances to enter into a renewal, in express definite terms, of that original contract, in all legal governments implied, be-

tween prince and people. A formula was prescribed, ſtrictly worded and cautiouſly guarded, that was to ſerve as the rule for all future coronation oaths. By the famous Bill of Rights preſented to King William on his acceſſion, for his concurrence, all paſt abuſes, that had crept into the government, were corrected, and additional ſecurities ſtipulated for the people; the Roman Catholic religion was made a bar to the ſucceſſion to the Crown, the freedom of debate in Parliament was in the fulleſt manner eſtabliſhed. The leading articles in it were, the abolition of the Diſpenſing power claimed by the Crown; the declaration of its uſurped authority to levy taxes, keep up a ſtanding army in time of peace, without the conſent of Parliament, to be illegal: The eſtabliſhment of the peoples right to petition the Throne.

These important privileges, joined with the liberty of the preſs, eſtabliſhed four years after the Revolution, reared, to little ſhort of the ſtandard of perfection, the Engliſh Conſtitution, the baſis of which was laid ſix hundred years before, that had ſtood the teſt of ſo many revolutions, to which ſo many of its kings had fallen ſacrifices. Happy had it been for this deluded prince, had the Excluſion Bill, levelled at him in his brother's reign,

carried through the lower, and rejected in the upper House, passed into a law, less happy perhaps for the nation.

During all the fluctuating periods under review, there appeared a spirit of liberty inherent in the people, which seized every favourable conjuncture to assert its rights, and when forced to yield to the necessity of the times, was too deeply rooted in their breasts, to be ever altogether eradicated, too strongly impressed to be quite extinguished; and, if at intervals, apparently sunk and depressed, it was in reality but retired and collected within itself, to recruit its broken and scattered force, to renew its vigour, preparatory to redoubled efforts for its subsequent vindication; like the guardian Genius of the Isle, it seems ever to have hovered round it, for its protection, and watchful over its interests, to have proclaimed the safety of the people the supreme law.

If the licentiousness, into which our liberty often runs, as it ever has done in all similar states, is objected as a heavy disadvantage attending it, the answer is obvious, that there is no arguing against the use of any thing, from its abuse; the very best things may be abused; nor in any instance is this truth more fatally for the universe

evinced, than religion, as half of the wars in the hiſtory of mankind, have been occaſioned by the ſpirit of intolerance, one doctrine of faith, with fire and ſword, extirpating another, one ſect wreaking its vengeance againſt another. The licentiouſneſs of mobs, that ſometimes, with us, breaks out in tumults and ſeditions, has this advantage attending it, with all its temporary inconveniencies, that it ſhews a ſpirit of liberty kept alive in the maſs of the people, that would take the alarm, on any attacks being made on the conſtitution; and how infinitely preferable is it to the tranquillity of deſpotic governments, deprived of all life and animation, reſembling the repoſe of death, more ruinous than even a ſtate of war, not to mention riot and ſedition; and which is but a ſtate of war between the Deſpot and his ſlaves, with fear, the principle of the government.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE

FRENCH MONARCHY

IN CHURCH AND STATE.

AFTER this ſummary hiſtorical deduction of our free conſtitution, it remains to aſſign the reaſons of the contraſt formed to it, in the French abſolute monarchy.

IF the true ſource of Engliſh liberty was the great and early power of the kings; if that power was owing to the revolution of the Conqueſt, with its concomitant ſudden influx of the feudal ſyſtem in all its vigour, which acknowledged but one Lord Paramount, and from him, downwards, a ſubordination and ſubjection, through all ranks of men, without competition and control: So, on the other hand, to the want of that early union in France, to its long continued diviſion into many

fiefs, and, among them, the Crown only the principal fief, retrenched in its power by the rivalship of its turbulent vassals, is to be attributed its want of liberty. The government of that, as well as all the other feudal nations on the continent, owing to the same causes, was at first a tyrannical aristocracy, afterwards changed to absolute monarchy; the transition was but from a few to one absolute master.

SINGULAR has been that of this country, and different from all the rest, in experiencing only a change from absolute to limited monarchy. In all the Seigniories in France, the people suffered the most extreme oppression; their want of concerted measures, from the number of their oppressors, prevented any being effectual for the redress of grievances; their tumultuary insurrections, at different times, and in different places, not all at once, and of a people embarked in one common cause, asserting their rights as men, in vindication of their liberties, were easily suppressed, with additional aggravations of the yoke. In all encroachments made on the Crown by the Nobles, in the wars they successfully waged with it, they were to their own advantage only; and the treaties entered into, contained no stipulations in favour of the people, as that shews concluded

between Lewis XI. and ſeveral of the Princes and Peers of France, entitled a treaty made at St Maur, September 29. 1465. In this treaty, which was made in order to terminate a war, as it was ſtyled, *pro bono publico*, no proviſion was made but for the power of a few Lords; not a word was inſerted for the people. It is this treaty that De Lolme ſo forcibly contraſts with the Magna Charta, where ſpecial proviſions were made for the bondman.

As little reſemblance as there was between theſe two tranſactions, was there between our Parliament and the general Eſtates of France, compoſed of the three orders, with but a faint repreſentation of the third, and the ſhadow of power veſted in it. In ſuch a government, when the Crown, by the gradual and imperceptible extenſion of its authority, its continual diminution of the power of its vaſſals, who were not ſufficiently aware of the conſequences of its deſigns and policy, had, by the effectual means, that remain to be traced at ſome length, engroſſed the whole of it, and completed their overthrow: Then it was, that the fate of the people, involved in theirs, was with theirs decided, and without any further effort, abſolute monarchy eſtabliſhed on the ruins of ariſtocracy. Then, too late, the Nobles ſaw their error, in not having entered into a cordial

union and alliance with the people, and made a common cauſe with them, againſt the uſurpations of the Sovereign; in not having extended to their dependents the privileges procured to themſelves; Nor till then did they perceive, that the ſtate of ſervile ſubjection, in which they kept them, was but preparatory to a ſimilar one, that they, in their turn, were to experience under an unlimited maſter of their own creation.

THE only period in our hiſtory, that preſents England in the ſame weak divided ſtate, was not, we have ſeen, during the prevalence of any feudal ariſtocracy, but long previous to the introduction of that ſyſtem, during the Saxon Heptarchy, when it was under the dominion of ſo many Kings.

BUT its neighbouring part of the iſland Scotland, laboured under the ſame diſadvantages, the ſame radical defect of conſtitution, that France and the other feudal countries did; which contributed ſo much to its misfortunes, in its frequent and bloody civil wars, in thoſe it engaged in with its neighbouring iſlanders, while it was the dupe of its alliances with its continental neighbours, whoſe maxim has ever been to embroil the two parts of Britain, in order the better to enable them to cope with their rivals in it.

The political constitution of Scotland has undergone no change, but remains aristocratical to this day. As it was the first of the two parts of the island, to receive the feudal system; so is it the last to retain the impressions derived from it. Of the first of these assertions, there will be as little doubt entertained, by those that will enter into the detail of the arguments on it, as of the last; arguments of too great length here to be discussed, and too foreign to the end here in view. The periods of its introduction into the southern and northern parts of the island, were not less different than the modes; in the one it was sudden and violent, too violent for its effects to last, and its force concentric; in the other more gradual, its force less violent, more diffused, consequently of longer continuance.

In all these respects, Scotland approaches nearer the condition of the other feudal nations on the continent, than England, which differs both from it and them, as widely also in the admirable constitution it has raised on the ruins of that system, which occasioned so great a revolution in human affairs. The final suppression of its faint remains in England, in the act styled the Abolition of Tenures, 12th Charles II. preceded the Jurisdiction Act, framed, with the same view, in 1748 for Scotland, near a century: There was this difference besides,

that the firſt, in point of time, was the moſt deciſive in its effects; as the lateſt, in the remedy it applied, has left ſtill many dregs behind.

It was ſuch a ſingularly fortunate train of events, ſuch admirable policy, that enabled England, ſo ſucceſsfully, to cope with its neighbours on the iſland, and on the continent, and in the midſt of its conteſts with both, to be continually adding to its ſtrength, improving its reſources, firſt, in the conqueſt of Ireland, by Henry II. then in that of Wales, by Edward I.

The progreſſive changes in the French government, are what now require inveſtigation. The firſt check the growth of the feudal ſyſtem received, in all the countries it prevailed in, was from the general phrenzy of the Cruſades: Much of the turbulent ſpirit of the Seigneurs evaporated, much of the means that ſupported it was waſted in thoſe fruitleſs expeditions. The territorial juriſdictions they poſſeſſed, were the chief ſources of their power and independence; the firſt attacks of their Kings, in the extenſion of their authority, were neceſſarily directed againſt them. It was by artful and indirect methods, they proceeded to undermine what they were not by open force enabled to effect the demolition of: Firſt in the appointment of the

Miſſi Dominici, or Commiſſaries for the near inſpection of the judicial proceedings in the Seigniories, next in the replacing of them by the Grand Baillies, who, if, at firſt, few in number, only four, of a limited authority, having cogniſance only of particular cauſes, ſuch as were royal, gradually increaſed in number, and in proportion to their increaſe of numbers, extended their juriſdiction, and from a reſtriction of it to a certain claſs of cauſes, at length comprehended within it all indiſcriminately. The eſtabliſhment of the Parliaments and appeals to them, and the King's Courts, completed the triumph of the royal authority over the feudal juriſdictions. The firſt fruits of which were the venality of the judicial offices, a groſs abuſe at firſt tolerated, afterwards ſcreened under the ſanction of law, and worſe than any practiſed in the Seigniory Courts, which they were meant to correct.

Our Kings directed their policy and views to the ſame end, firſt, in depreciating, then undermining and weakening, laſtly, ſupplanting the territorial juriſdictions of the Barons. The means they proportioned to it were different; the earlieſt effectual means employed were the Circuits, inſtituted by Henry II.; next the gradual extenſion of the authority and influence of the Royal Stationary Courts at Weſtminſter, with the frequency of appeals to

them, where the Kings at firſt preſided in perſon, afterwards with a delegated authority to Judges of their appointment. Theſe ſeveral ſuſpenſions, and controls of the judicial feudal powers, paved the way for their final ſuppreſſion by the 12th of Charles II. and far different from the abuſe we have ſeen of the transference of that power to the French King's Courts from thoſe of their Seigneurs, in the venality of law employments, is the uſe made of it by our Kings.

Another conſiderable ſource of aggrandiſement derived to the royal authority, was the rendering the Crown demeſnes and appanages unalienable. The next important object, after ſo diminiſhing the juriſdiction of the Seigneurs, was to wreſt from them their arms, till the accompliſhment of which deſign, the work was but half completed. The firſt ſtep taken towards that end, was the prohibition of the tournaments, and for their more effectual ſuppreſſion, the Papal authority was reſorted to, to proclaim the diſcontinuance of them under pain of excommunication. This policy was followed by another, the diſpenſing with the perſonal attendance of them, and their followers, ſubſtituting in the room of that military ſervice in war. the maintenance of the King's troops on their territories. Still as the connection formed between the troops ſo maintain-

ed, and the feudal Lords was more intimate, than between them and the King, by whom they were levied, the aids were adopted in preference to that expedient.

By ſuch a train of policy, were thoſe once ſo great and powerful rivals of majeſty gradually ſtript of their juriſdictions, of their arms, deprived of their ruſtic amuſements, the martial exerciſes of the tournaments, a prey to ſloth and indolence in the walls of their caſtles, which they then left for the Court, where the effeminacy and luxury, the ſpirit of intrigue and gallantry that began to reign, aided by the looſe ſongs of the poets, the repreſentations of the theatre, ſecured the conqueſts made by the Kings over their vaſſals. As the Trobadors, or ſtrolling bards of Provence were inſtrumental in effecting that extraordinary change of manners, conſequent on the introduction of the martial ſpirit of chivalry, that pervaded Chriſtendom, ſo their ſucceſſors at Court were equally ſucceſsful, in completing the further change of manners from that warlike temperament we have ſeen to the preſent luxurious habit, in ſubſtituting the enervating repreſentations of the theatre, to ſuch amuſements as addreſs themſelves to the mind, to the rougher exerciſes of the tournaments, that required bodily ſtrength and agility, introduced by

their predeceſſors. In all ages and countries, much of the national character has depended on the influence of the Bards.

During all theſe conteſts and ſtruggles, we never ſee the people engaged, they uniformly remained inactive ſpectators, patiently awaiting the iſſue, to which ſide victory might lean, and what might, in the reſult, be their lot, whether to be at the diſpoſal of one or more maſters. So little account did their Kings make of them, that they uſed them as inſtruments againſt the feudal Lords, in granting charters with immunities and privileges to the inhabitants of towns, which they reſumed, after they had ſerved their purpoſe, the defeat of their vaſſals.

In no period of their hiſtory do we ſee the object of the civil wars to be the political ſtate of the country, but often the religious, the reverſe of ours, and long, bloody and obſtinate were thoſe, continued through a ſucceſſion of reigns, that had the latter object in view. It was after the nation was quite exhauſted with the ſeverity and repetition of them, that the ambitious and enterpriſing Richlieu appeared to ſuppreſs the General Eſtates, the only remaining ſhadow of liberty, in their ſtead, to ſubſtitute a ſtanding army, and in it to rivet the chains of his countrymen, that Lewis XI. had

forged, so fast, as not to be removed. If at any time the intestine commotions of that nation can be said to have had for their aim the reform of its political government, it was in the minority of Lewis XIV. during the war of the Barricades of Paris, or of the Fronde, as it is also called, between the two parties the Frondeurs, or slingers, against the sticklers for government, and the Mazarins, or adherents of the minister. But the real scope of these troubles was the Cardinal, the question was, who should govern, and not how the people should be governed: The pretext for taking up arms was occasioned by murmurs and discontents on account of the heavy impositions levied on them, the creation of certain new offices, and the retention of the salaries annexed to some old.

THE principle on which Aristotle founds arbitrary governments is, that some men are born to command, others to obey. It is in these states we are to find an uniformity of character and manner. Honour, the principle of that in view, has stamped a similarity of outward deportment and behaviour on all ranks in the nation, as far as it could extend its influence. This uniformity of manner is contributed to by the little propensity shewn by the natives, to travel into foreign countries, whence prejudices and partialities arise in favour of their own,

to the exclusion of the customs of others. Montesquieu and Beccaria may be consulted on the principles of honour, whence flowed that fanaticism, it was tainted with, displayed in the enthusiastic spirit of chivalry, derived from our Gothic ancestors, that in the dark middle ages pervaded Europe.

The King's edict, after registration in the Parliaments, is a general law; the registration has the effect of promulgation. If the Parliaments should, on any occasion, refuse their consent, and the King persists, he holds a bed of justice to enforce registration. The bed of justice is well termed, as in it justice sleeps. In 1770, the Parliament shewed a spirit of opposition to registering the edicts, which was soon stifled.

The form of criminal process sounds harsh to a British ear: It is conducted before the Reporter and Greffier; the depositions are committed to writing very much in the terms the discretion of the Reporter dictates, who often biassed and prejudiced in his report, so influences the judges, whose decisions are founded on it. The first interrogatoire, or confronting of the witnesses with the criminal, is in prison; the second in court, immediately before the passing of judgment. The trials are carried on in secret, with shut doors. The accused is confined to

prifon during the trial, till the clofe, when the evidence againft him is in his hearing redd, the deponents confronted with him, to furnifh him with an opportunity of confuting them.

The trial by jury, with all its train of legal folemnities, opens another fcene, affords other protection to the liberty, lives and property of the Britifh fubject. His innocence is prefumed to the very laft, till the return of the verdict: The French prifoner's guilt is prefumed from the beginning, from the firft moment of his commitment. From thefe oppofite prefumptions of innocence and guilt, arife the oppofite offices of the judges in the two countries, in fupport of the one and the other. What a contraft too do the *habeas corpus* act, and the *lettres de cachet* form to each other! The repulfion between non-electrics is not ftronger than between them, nor differed more in value the armour of Glaucus and Diomed. The fentences of the judges fo formed are liable to be canvaffed by the King, in whom in effect refides the judicial, together with the legiflative and executive powers. It requires but the acquittal of a prifoner by the Grand Chamber of the Parliament of Paris, to ferve as a prelude to his exile; it requires but a condemnation by the fame high tribunal to precede a pardon. In the delegated authority to the judges, the King has divefted himfelf

but of the ſhadow of judicial power, retaining the ſubſtance.

ANOTHER groſs perverſion of juſtice meets us in the venality of the employments; the office of ſupreme judge in civil and criminal affairs, that of Lieutenant General, is bought and ſold with no other qualification, than ſome weeks ſtudy of the laws, without any regard to merit or talents, and ſo acquired, is tranſmitted to heirs.

To fill up the meaſure of injuſtice, there is the torture, that monument of ancient Gothic barbarous legiſlation, called the judgments of God, the ordeal, or proofs by fire and boiling water, and the trial by battle. Nor is the abſurdity greater in the one caſe to ſuppoſe, that the links of that eternal chain, which reaches from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, that connects the firſt great cauſe with the creation, ſhould every moment be ſhaken and diſordered by the frivolous ordinances of men; than in the other, is that of the problem, put with ſuch maſterly irony by Beccaria, in diſcuſſing this ſubject, more for a mathematician to ſolve, than a judge. *Datá lá forza dei muſcoli, e la ſenſibilita delle fibre di un innocente; trovare il grado di dolore, che lo farà confeſſar reo di un dato delitto.* In both modes of probation, it is the operation of phyſical

external cauſes, that is reſorted to, and not the free unbiaſſed act of the will; and were it even ſo, ſtill there is this further cruelty, as well as contradiction in them, that the ſame perſon is at once the accuſer and accuſed; that an innocent man is treated as guilty before conviction, till which time his innocence is to be preſumed, and that he cannot but be a loſer, while the guilty may be a gainer. Such, and many more, are the evils that this writer, in the moſt maſterly manner, deſcribes as flowing from this pretended criterion of truth, which, with indignation, he terms the criterion of a cannibal, which the Greeks even practiſed, which the Romans reſerved for their ſlaves only, who were deprived of all perſonality, thus ſupporting one barbarous practice by another, but which the enlightened nations of modern Europe have exploded; and, in his encomium on them, it is, in a peculiar manner, he pays the tribute of applauſe to the glory of Engliſh letters, the Engliſh ſuperiority in commerce, riches and power, their examples of virtue and courage; which concurrence of happy circumſtances, can leave no room to doubt of the excellence of their laws.

What adds to the calamities attendant on ſuch juriſdiction is, that the ſufferings are not confined to the object of its vengeance, but the families are involved in the ruinous conſequences, and branded

with infamy; a cruel prejudice flowing from the high ſenſe of honour entertained by that people, as inherited from their German anceſtors, joined with the reſult of that rude legiſlation, common to them with moſt nations of antiquity, mentioned by Homer, and other writers, which ordained the compoſition for crimes. Theſe compoſitions did not affect the criminal only, but with him included his relations.

In confiſcations for crimes, to the King belongs the liferent eſcheat, or eſcheat of immoveables; to the Seigneur the ſingle eſcheat, or that of moveables, in oppoſition to the principle of humanity, that ſhould give to the neareſt relations the right to both, and forbids the involving, as with us, of the innocent and guilty in one common fate.

The feudal Lords, together with a criminal juriſdiction, ſtill retain the emoluments ariſing from the fines of alienation of the vaſſalage lands, the entry of heirs, the marriage of the eldeſt daughter; which caſualties of ſuperiority ſhew the feudal ſyſtem to be ſtill in great vigour there.

The provinces north of the Loire are governed by their own municipal cuſtomary laws; in thoſe ſouth of that line, the civil law prevails: The one

are called the pays de droit coutumier, the other de droit ecrit. Anciently the Loire was the line of division of the kingdom into two parts, Languedoc north of it, and Languedoc south. The different districts throughout the provinces have their peculiar laws, to the amount of a hundred and eighty five different kinds, owing to the former divided state of the kingdom, that occasioned the loss of its liberty. The inhabitants of Languedoc speak a distinct language, composed of French, Spanish, and Italian: In lower Brittany, formerly Armorica, the inhabitants descended from a Welsh colony, established there, still retain a dialect of the Celtic tongue. There are still some remains of the Serfs; that species of slaves ascripti glebæ spread through Burgundy, Brittany, and other provinces. This King, after the example of most of his predecessors, gave freedom to those of his demesnes, in which he has been followed by several Seigneurs.

There is a gradation of appeals from the Seigniory Courts, through the King's, up to the Parliament of Paris; and, in the last resort, from it and the other parliaments to the King in council.

Appeals are to our parliament in the last instance; and such are all those concerning civil affairs within the kingdom: And it is only in questions originat-

ing in the foreign ſettlements, that appeals are made to the King in council in the laſt reſort; which is a deviation from the free principles of the conſtitution, ariſing from the neceſſity, the extent and diſtance of our dominions impoſe. In them the reins of government muſt be drawn ſomewhat tighter: In proportion to the extent of free ſtates, their liberty diminiſhes, which is another powerful argument againſt their extenſion, in addition to what is urged on that head. A modern political writer remarks, that ſuch ſtates, the leaſt of all others, ſhare with their colonies the freedom they enjoy themſelves; and carries his obſervation ſtill further, as drawn from the hiſtory of the ancient republics, in aſſerting, that they are the moſt oppreſſive to them.

* * * *

As the Roman Catholic is the religion of moſt abſolute governments, an examination into the nature of it may not be miſplaced, after that of the government we have been canvaſſing; and if the political ſtate of that country labours under ſuch defects, its religion contributes to augment them.

In religious worſhip the ſoul ſhould ſpring upwards to the object of its adoration in a free animated tone of rapture, a zealous fervor, pious enthuſiaſm: All exceſs in external pomp and parade,

all ſuperfluous obſervance of rites and ceremonies, ſuperſtitious reverence paid to idols and images, ſerve but to retard it in its flight, to damp its wings when in the height of ſoaring, when moſt it ſhould be exerted in ſpiritual contemplation, fixes it low down, proſtrate and grovelling before mere ſenſual objects, graven images of earth and ſtone. Such a mode of worſhip is incompatible with the purity and refined ſimplicity of true religion, ſubverſive of its end and deſign. Nor other is that eſtabliſhed by the Church of Rome; which in the multiplicity of its objects reſembles the polytheiſm, and in the ſervile homage paid to them, the idolatry of Pagan antiquity. This ſervility and bondage is a direct violation of the ſecond commandment; from a conviction of which, it is almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed in their prayer book, and ſo tranſpoſed and mutilated both in the proſe and Latin verſe, as to have loſt ſight, in great meaſure, of the letter and ſpirit. In this ſhape it is committed in an unknown tongue to the people, and the bible. in which the commandments are left entire, is to be found in few hands but the prieſts.

In vindication of the worſhip of images, it is contended, that ſuch a lively repreſentation ſubmitted to the ſenſes, is with a view only to quicken the intellectual conception of the objects they are ſymbo-

lical of, and to whom alone, and not to thoſe their earthly repreſentations, the adoration is directed. Nor other than this was the foundation on which the ancient Egyptian mythology reſted.

The taſte is well known, which all antiquity, ſacred and profane, Greek and Barbarian, had for parables and allegories. The Greeks derived their mythology from Egypt. Among the Egyptians, the hieroglyphic characters were the chief, not to ſay the moſt ancient manner of writing. The word is of Greek extraction, compounded of ἱερος καλυπτω, ſignifying the covering or throwing a veil over the ſacred rites, and for that purpoſe adopted by the prieſts. Theſe hieroglyphics were the figures of men, birds, animals, reptiles, and the different productions of nature, which were emblematical of the divine attributes, and the qualities of ſpirits. Thus they worſhipped the onion, as typical of the ſolar ſyſtem, the ox of the divinity, and ſo the ſun and moon: The river Nile, and animals, on account of the utility derived from them. In the ſacred commentary of the Perſian rites, the words aſcribed to Zoroaſter, breathe the pureſt Theiſm. But ſoon they fell off from the worſhip of the Eternal inviſible God, to that of the ſun, fire, dead men, images, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Chaldeans, had done before. Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, page 48.

THAT ſymbolical ſyſtem was founded on a very ancient opinion, that the univerſe is but a picture, repreſentative of the divine perfections; that the viſible is but an imperfect copy of the inviſible world; that there is conſequently a ſecret analogy between the original and the copies, between the ſpiritual and corporeal beings, and their properties. That manner of painting words, and giving a corporeal ſubſtance to the thoughts, was the true ſource of mythology, and all the poetic fictions: But in proceſs of time, particularly when the hieroglyphic was changed into an alphabetical and vulgar ſtyle, mankind having forgot the primitive meaning of thoſe ſymbols, fell into the moſt groſs idolatry. The obſcurity in which all was wrapt by the Prieſts, the veil anxiouſly thrown by them over the religion of the times, contributed much to its degeneracy.

BUT the poets degraded all, in giving way to their imaginations: Their taſte for the marvellous, led them to make of theology, and the ancient tradition, a chaos, and monſtrous mixture of fictions, and all the human paſſions. Some of the hiſtorians and philoſophers of the latter ages, not conceiving the ſpirit of the allegorical theology, and miſled by the letter, ridiculed both the myſteries of their religion and fable. Such imperfect fragments of the

ancient theology, as are left us, ſhow, that theſe hieroglyphics and ſymbolical characters; were typical of the myſteries of the invisible world, the dogmas of the moſt profound theology, the heavens, and the appearances of the gods. Orpheus and the other myſtagogues, or thoſe to whom the theological myſteries were revealed, in what fragments remain to us of theirs, diſcover a pure Theiſm. Among the philoſophers, Socrates, and his diſciple Plato, were Theiſts in their divine ſpeculations.

THE Phrygian fable invented by Æſop, warns us at firſt not to take it literally, ſince the actors which it repreſents ſpeaking and reaſoning, are animals void of ſpeech and reaſon. Nor does it appear more why the letter of the Egyptian fable ſhould alone be attended to. The Phrygian fable exalts the brute nature in giving it ſoul and virtues: The Egyptian fable appears certainly to have degraded the divine nature in giving it body and paſſions.

THERE ſeems nothing in this deduction, but what is applicable to the modern worſhip of images; and lukewarm muſt that zeal be, that by ſuch repreſentations is to be awakened and animated; faint muſt be that fervor of devotion, that is ſo rouſed and excited to pious tranſports, holy raptures. The Ro-

man prieſthood has its reſources in hieroglyphics as the Egyptian had: The Latin Vulgate ſerves to throw a myſtical veil over the pure light of the Goſpel, impenetrable to the eyes of the vulgar, thus dimmed as they are. The Reformation introduced the ſtudy of the Scriptures in the original languages, the Greek and Hebrew, for the purpoſes of diſcovering the true texts, and ſubſequent promulgation of them in the native languages of the reſpective reformed ſtates. Thus the twofold ends of religion and learning were at once anſwered.

The Churches, public ſtreets throughout all the towns in the country we are ſpeaking of, all the roads leading to them are crowded with images and crucifixes, that ſeem to await in ſome more enlightened days, the rough reforming hands of the Eikonoclaſtes. What can be more offenſive to the eye of reaſon, to the purity of worſhip, than to ſee the relics and mangled limbs of ſaints imitated in caſt metals, arranged on tables in the middle of the churches for the multitude to kiſs, on laying down their charity, without order or common decency in their appearance.

To carry this diſquiſition a little further, nothing could be more pure and ſpiritual, than the ſyſtem of the ancient metaphyſics. The metaphyſical ſpe-

culations of the Pythagorean ſchool, as delivered to us in the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, were of the moſt refined intellectual nature. They inſtruct us, that νοῦς or mind pervades and animates the whole creation, viſible and inviſible, from the higheſt animal ſubſtance to the loweſt ſpecies of matter *.

This ſyſtem of philoſophy is compriſed in the eight lines following from l. 220. B. iv. Virgil's Georgics. Hence the poetical fictions of the Naiads, Dryads, Hamadryads, Oreads.

Aristotle's Nature, and the doctrine of Second Cauſes, conſpire to ſupport this theory. In the elements there is a vivifying principle, that actuates them in a gradation upwards from the more groſs to the purer, the earth nouriſhes the water, the water air, air fire. A fifth element, what they termed the quinteſſence, Ariſtotle attributed to the human mind. Tuſc. Queſt. l. 1. Of it Milton ſays, P. L. B. iii. l. 716.

And the ethereal quinteſſence of heav'n,
Flew upwards ſpirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to ſtars.

* The ſame notions, Cook, in his laſt voyage, from the relation of Omai, informs us, prevailed in Otaheite, and the neighbouring Society Iſlands.

In vegetables, there is the ſame aſcending ſcale to be traced from the root to the trunk, from that to the branches, thence to the leaves and bloſſoms, up to the fruit. Nor does nature ever ceaſe from her ſilent workings, and infallible operations, nor ever intermits her burning of incenſe, pouring of perfumed libations on the earth's great altar, that in columns up to heaven's gate aſcend. Nor are theſe inceſſant odoriferous ſacrifices ever clogged or retarded by maſſes of inert dead matter, as the corruption of one thing ſerves but to the generation of another; as all earthly things are in perpetual rotation; as the earth itſelf in its diurnal and annual motions round its axis, and round the centre of attraction; as the ſeas floating on its ſurface in a conſtant flux and reflux, or in ſucceſſion, as wave ſucceeds to wave.

Male and female are to be traced in every ſtage of the creation, from the two great lights that rule the day and night, through all the degrees of the animal and vegetable worlds. And theſe degrees are ſo imperceptible, the tranſition from the one to the other ſo gradual, not only within the avowed limits, but at them, as to render it moſt difficult, if not impracticable, to aſcertain them, and draw the line, ſo imperceptible to human conception is the ſuperior excellence, or

diſtinguiſhing qualities of an oyſter and the ſenſitive plant. Nothing ſeems more indiſputable, than that human reaſon, finite in all its conceptions, in its ſpeculations, ſhould preſcribe to itſelf certain determinate bounds, within which it is modeſtly to retire, as within its entrenchments: Inattentive to this precaution, it is involved in inextricable labyrinths of doubts and perplexities, and plunges into depths of myſteries that it is unequal to the inveſtigation of. Certain it is, that whatever may be the reſult of ſuch enquiries, if they are indulged in, whatever fate may attend the ſyſtem of ancient metaphyſics, there is no inference to be drawn from it that can impeach the modern ſyſtem of Newtonian philoſophy: For whether it is from a principle implanted in bodies themſelves, actuating them, termed νȣς, or whether it is the phyſical laws of neceſſity impoſed and acting on them, it is incontrovertible, that the periods and motions, the limits of time and ſpace aſcribed to them in the performance of their ſeveral functions, and revolutions, by its ſublime and enlightened truths, are uniformly adhered to. It is only the terms in the modern philoſophy that the ancient metaphyſics impinge on; ſuch, for inſtance, as that fifth property of bodies, the *vis inertiæ*, or their paſſiveneſs and inactivity; but the effects imputed to all are left entire, whatever ſe-

condary caufes produce them, which the firft Great Caufe in his unfathomable ways and infinite wifdom has drawn a veil over, to conceal from human fight. From the want of the comprehenfion of this property in attributing force to reft, from the hypothefis, that the Author of nature preferves always an equal quantity of motion in the univerfe, flow the errors of the Cartefian fyftem. In no inftance did the profound author of the modern difcoveries encounter fo much doubt and difficulty, as in his attempt to account for the univerfal principle of gravitation, in having recourfe for its folution to a fubtile elaftic ethereal fluid.

If the religion of antiquity, when in its pureft ftate, attributed too much to body, (though not more, it would feem, than that of modern times this difquifition is directed to) its metaphyfics has probably gone into the other extreme, of attributing too much to fpirit.

The hiftory of religion, from the remoteft times, forms itfelf into three leading fyftems, Paganifm, the Jewifh Difpenfation, and Chriftianity. The belief of a future ftate of rewards and punifhments is common to all of them: The two firft have reference to civil inftitutions, the laft is calculated

for a future ſtate. There are many points in which a remarkable analogy is to be traced between the heathen mythology, and Jewiſh hiſtory and religion. The Pentateuch, or five books written by Moſes, contain moſt of the features of reſemblance. The golden Age is what anſwers to the terreſtrial Paradiſe—the war of the Giants correſponds with the fallen Angels rebellion—Noah's flood with Deucalion's—the wiſdom of Solomon with that of Socrates—the ſtrength of Samſon with that of Hercules, and the wives of both inſtrumental in their tragic end. Jephtha's raſh vow, and Idomeneus's, bear a reſemblance, as alſo the fatal conſequences attending the circumſtance of Orpheus and Lot's wife looking back.

The Greeks, and other nations of antiquity, that reached refinement and civilization, derived theſe from the lights of revelation ſhed on the Iſraelites, if not through the channel of the original ſource, by direct correſpondence with the choſen people; at ſecond hand, by means of their communication with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, between whom and the Jews, there ever were cloſe connections formed, and a frequent intercourſe opened. Hence the above analogy, the faint notions, and imperfect ſhadowings of the im-

mortality of the ſoul and a future ſtate, framed by the Theiſts, Plato, Ariſtotle and Cicero.

All tendency to Pagan idolatry is expreſsly forbid the Iſraelites, in the ſecond of the commandments delivered to them from mount Sinai, by the holy Author of their religion, through the mediation of Moſes; whoſe mediation is typical of that of our Saviour; but there the reſemblance ceaſes, as Moſes did not lead the choſen ſeed into the promiſed land, it was only permitted him to ſee it: It was reſerved for Joſhua to conduct them to it, who, in name and office, is figurative of Jeſus.

The law, in general, is typical of the goſpel; the goſpel is the completion of the law and the prophecies, with the rites and ceremonies retrenched, which were inſtituted with a view to make the Iſraelites forget thoſe of the Egyptians. It muſt therefore have been only in the days of degeneracy and apoſtaſy, under either of the diſpenſations, that all ſpecies of idolatry, all worſhip of graven images, was reſorted to. In its obſervance of feaſts and faſts, forms and ceremonies, eſtabliſhment of the different orders of the Prieſthood, the Romiſh Church reſembles much the Jewiſh diſcipline. But let it be remembered, that in the Jewiſh

Church, the ceremonial ſupplanted the moral part; let the Romiſh beware, leſt the ſame means it is furniſhed with, do not lead to the ſame end. It was the ceremonial part our Saviour came to aboliſh, not the moral. He came to fulfil the law, not deſtroy it; the moral precepts remained in their full force after, as before his coming.

What can be a ſtronger proof of the defects of the worſhip in view, than the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation? in virtue of which, the elements of bread and wine, which in the Sacrament of our Church, in conformity to our Saviour's injunction, we uſe as ſymbols of his body and blood, are actually converted into them, and their real preſence is believed in. This conception of the ſacrament, inſtead of that pure, refined ſpiritual idea affixed to it in the Reformed Church, is conſonant with the worſhip of images, and adoration of the Croſs, as enjoined by the Council of Trente; the adoration of ſaints and angels, the veneration of relics, viſitation of ſepulchres, pilgrimages, *&c.*

There is as great a difference in the number as in the quality of the ſacraments of the two churches, the reformed retaining but two, baptiſm and the communion, out of the ſeven of that of Rome, bap-

tiſm, confirmation, the euchariſt, marriage, order, penitence, extreme unction. Theſe with their doctrine of purgatory, and other exploded tenets, their ſacrifice of meſs, ſale of indulgences, with all their train of abſurd and degrading circumſtances; not to mention their auricular confeſſion, holding forth pardons by proxy, of which ſuch a traffic has been made, have all in their ſeveral turns been ſo much canvaſſed, occaſioned ſo keen controverſy, been the ſubject of ſuch a detail of polemical divinity, as to render any further comments on them ſuperfluous. What can be more preſumptuous, than to inculcate the doctrine, that God has given to the Church, what he has only reſerved to himſelf, the power of hindering or pardoning ſins. Their giving the Holy Ghoſt, that moſt myſtical, moſt purely ſpiritual part of our religion, a corporeal form and ſubſtance; their leading it in proceſſion, their falling down before its image, is all in the ſpirit of idolatry.

The intolerant ſpirit of this perſuaſion, what fatal conſequences has it not been attended with, both to Church and State? The beſt blood of the nation has ſtreamed by it in the field, and on the ſcaffold. The tragic pages of its hiſtory are filled with the moſt dreadful accounts of the wars, murders, maſſacres, aſſaſſinations it has occaſioned,

rising in a progressive series of cruelty, up to the massacre of Paris, that *ne plus ultra* of bigotted barbarism. The three Henries, *viz.* the Third, Fourth, and Duke of Guise, from whom was named one of the civil wars, in which they headed three different parties, the Royal, Huguenot and League, into which the kingdom was torn, all, with many Princes of the blood, their rivals and adherents, suffered violent deaths. It was with fire and sword that Christians contended with Christians, brothers with brothers, one branch of Christianity extirpated another; nor other treatment did the persecuted Huguenots meet with from their intolerant brethren, than did the primitive Christians at the hands of the Pagans.

What and how many are the miseries that the abuse of religion has brought on mankind, from the earliest records of time? Not long after the establishment of our religion did the intolerant spirit betray itself in the Crusades that exhausted Europe, laid waste Asia, and, in the midst of the devastation with fire and sword, displayed the banners of Christ, and erected the Cross. No sooner was it reformed from these and such abuses, than to regain its old extent of empire, recover what it had forfeited, it laid open the same scenes of bloodshed in Europe, it had before in Asia, and on the ruins of the Crusades

erected the most barbarous tribunal that ever stained human nature, the Inquisition.

The edict of Nantz was the toleration of France; the revocation of it was the banishment of the Huguenots, and with them, of their arts and manufactures to England, Holland, Germany, Prussia, and other Protestant states. By which bigotted policy, France lost in trade and population, what those other countries gained. Notwithstanding the repeated and violent persecutions this unfortunate class of men have so tragically experienced, there are still many of them in Normandy and other provinces.

How much the cause of true Christianity must suffer from the excesses of the Romish Church is obvious. It is not less so, to what extent the State must, considering them in a political view, in the expenditure of such an immense annual revenue, as is requisite for the support of this religious establishment, consisting of so many magnificent edifices, ornamented with such profusion of rich paintings, organs, gildings, carvings, statuary, plate, incense, wax-lights; then the long line of the priesthood, with all their pompous trains, and display of robes; add to this list, that of the religious houses, the monasteries, and convents, with their proportional de-

tail of correſponding ornaments, and the numerous orders of the regular clergy ſecluded from the world and worldly occupations, all enjoined celibacy. Commerce and induſtry ſuſtains another ſevere check in the frequent commemoration of ſaints, and celebration of feſtivals. Thus, in a twofold view, the Church is a heavy burden on the State, in the waſte of its treaſures and population.

Nor does it compenſate it with the lights it throws on its government, or the arts and ſciences. From the ſervility of its worſhip, the ſubjection it keeps the reaſon under, the auſterity of its manners, the gloom and ſeverity of its diſcipline, it aids and ſupports the arbitrary will of the Monarch, and depreſſes genius: And but for a few productions of literary merit, not proportioned to the very great numbers, that might devote ſo much time and leiſure to them, the ſtate, or republic of letters, have reaped but little benefit from the labours of this deſcription of its members. The regularity of the monaſtic life, the auſterity and moroſeneſs of manners, the rigid diſcipline, the gloom of the cloiſters, impenetrable to the ſun's rays, are unfavourable to the cultivation of genius, the growth of the arts and ſciences. They were more calculated for what was the occupation of their inhabitants, in the middle ages, the copying the va-

luable remains of ancient learning; and much do we owe to thoſe labours, as without them perhaps the riches of antiquity had been loſt. Each well endowed monaſtery had an apartment called the *Scriptorium*, and the monks employed in it tranſcribing, proved the means of the preſervation of the precious monuments of antiquity, conveyed to Europe firſt through the channel of the Saracens, afterwards of the Cruſades. But thoſe, that then laboured ſo ſucceſsfully for ſucceeding times, did not know how to turn to advantage their own labours: Their legends, chronicles, monkiſh rhymes, ſcholaſtic treatiſes, are far from being compoſed on the chaſte models they had before them. Nor have their ſucceſſors in office, been, in general, more fortunate in reaping the fruits of their induſtry.

The Greek language is far on the decline in that kingdom; it is baniſhed the cloiſters, the ſchools, colleges, almoſt all the univerſities, except that of Paris, and even there, the living languages are more attended to by all the Nobleſſe, without exception, and, in general, by the profeſſional men. Nor can there be a more infallible ſymptom of the decay of learning, and all true and genuine taſte for the arts and ſciences. This neglect, in which the Greek lies, joined with the want of the liberty of the Preſs, that great advantage we enjoy over

them, is enough to ſtifle all their efforts of genius in the birth. The manufactures of the country did not ſuffer more in the proſcription of the Huguenots, than its literature has in the expulſion of the Jeſuits. That ſociety, always diſtinguiſhed for its claſſical learning, has found a retreat in the Pruſſian and Ruſſian dominions. In Henry the Fourth's time, they were baniſhed the kingdom, but in a few years recalled. The Council of Trente took them under its protection, and the Gallican Church, which maintains the authority of the General Councils, to be ſuperior to the Pope's, and at the ſame time denies his infallibility, had recourſe to him to iſſue his bull againſt that ſociety, in direct violation of the protection afforded it by that ſuperior power it owns. Of the Council of Trente, it is to be obſerved, in general, that it is not received in France. It has its authority, in reſpect of the Canons, that regard the dogmas and faith, but not in relation to the decrees that regulate Church diſcipline. In virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, and Concordat, the Gallican Church, under the protection of the King, is, in a conſiderable degree, independent of the Pope. The King preſents to the benefices, and the Pope draws the firſt year's revenues of them, the Annates, though very low rated, to the detriment of the State, in a political view.

In the Greek Church, far in the decline of the Eaſtern Empire, the idolatry was groſs, and the abuſes enormous. There too, as in the Weſt, the ſpiritual power often prevailed over the temporal; and the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople, in the authority they exerciſed over the Eaſtern Emperors, when, in the tumults, they fled to them for protection, and they opened their churches, as ſanctuaries to receive them, imperfectly ſhadowed out that exorbitant power, which the Popes of Rome were afterwards to uſurp over the Emperors, and other temporal Princes of the Weſt.

The Schiſm between the two churches, that memorable event in hiſtory, had its riſe, in no more important affair, than a diſpute about precedence, which the Patriarch of Conſtantinople claimed over the See of Rome. That great difference had been ſettled in a Council held at Conſtantinople, under the Emperor Theodoſius, but from time to time the pretenſions were awakened: At length, the eunuch Photius, intruded in the See of Conſtantinople, in the room of the Patriarch Ignatius, having found a favourable occaſion, renewed them; and well aware that he could not obtain the precedence, ſought only to render himſelf independent, which he effected in ſeparating from the Church of Rome; which ſeparation was ſtyled the Schiſm

of the Greeks. Photius experienced great reverſes of fortune, for the See of Conſtantinople was not, in thoſe times, more firmly eſtabliſhed than the Throne. He died in exile. His death ſerved only to ſuſpend the ſchiſm, not to extinguiſh it. It was often renewed, till ſuch time as the Latins engaged in the Cruſades had made themſelves maſters of the Greek Empire: It was then, that the Emperor Baudoin, having procured the election of a Latin Patriarch, reunited the two Churches. That reunion had but the ſame duration with the Latin Empire, and ended after a period of 55 years, when the Emperor Paleologus, having retaken Conſtantinople in 1261, withdrew afreſh from the Communion of Rome. That renewal of the ſchiſm was of long continuance, and was not terminated till 1439, at the Council of Florence: Still that reunion, which was but founded on the dependence that the Greek Emperor had on the Pope, was diſavowed through all the Empire, and faintly was effected: But then was the laſt ſtate of the religion in the Eaſt, which was almoſt extirpated on the taking of Conſtantinople in 1453, by Mahomet II.

This is the hiſtory of the above memorable event, given by writers. The Greek Church is

eſtabliſhed in the Ruſſian, in parts of the Ottoman Empire in Aſia, and Europe, and part of Poland.

The chief ſources of diviſion are the denial by the Greeks of the Pope's ſupremacy; the real preſence; the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt; of Chriſt's ſuffering in any other than his human nature, in conformity to the Socinian tenets. Sir Iſaac Newton's hiſtory of the two texts of ſcripture, the Three in Heaven, God manifeſted in the Fleſh, may be referred to. The two Churches differ in their Sacramental bread, as the Lutherans and Calviniſts do, the former uſing unleavened, the latter leavened. The officiating in the Sacrament of Confirmation, in the Latin Church confined to the Biſhops, is, in the Greek, extended to the inferior orders of the prieſthood. Theſe are the moſt eſſential grounds of difference, the others relate more to forms and ceremonies.

The Latin Church is far on the decline, and but the ſhadow of that Papal power is now left, which, with the thunders of its ſpiritual artillery, its bulls, interdicts, and anathemas of excommunication, once ſhook Chriſtendom. The loſſes it ſuſtained at the Reformation, in the defection from its allegiance of ſo many and ſo powerful Potentates, it has never

recovered; its authority is much impaired over thoſe who remained firm in their allegiance in ſo general a Revolt. Inſtead of the Emperor, as of old going to Rome to pay homage to the Pope, the Pope we have ſeen ſeeking an interview with the Emperor at Vienna. The Emperor alſo we have ſeen begin the work of Reformation a ſecond time, as did the firſt in England, in the ſuppreſſion of the religious houſes. It remains to be ſeen, whether his example will be followed by other Roman Catholic powers, and whether a ſecond Reformation will originate in Germany, as did the firſt.

How conformable, in ſome reſpects, muſt the ſentiments of the members of that Church be to thoſe here entertained, when an author, under its influence, could expreſs himſelf in theſe terms: "The ſaints were not honoured, nor their images "revered, in the firſt ages of the Church, becauſe "the averſion entertained for the then reigning "idolatry, rendered circumſpection neceſſary in a "worſhip, the precept of which was not ſufficiently "formal, to avoid the ſcandal and contempt it might "occaſion in thoſe days." The ſame writer compares the canonization of the ſaints to the apotheoſis of the heathen Heroes and Emperors.

If, at firſt ſight, too much acrimony ſhould appear in this diſquiſition, it will be leſſened on the reflection, that its ſole view is a vindication of Proteſtantiſm, in bringing to the teſt of reaſon, ſome of the bigotted and ſuperſtitious tenets of that Church, which, with principles ſo uncharitable, zeal ſo intemperate, ſpirit ſo intolerant, in this world keeps no faith with, in the next, conſigns under the denomination of heretics to everlaſting puniſhments, without the hope of pardon, or repentance, all indiſcriminately, of whatever perſuaſion, that are without its pale.

The ſcope of theſe reflections is far from impeaching toleration, the faireſt flower of cultivated humanity. The reverſe, it is with peculiar ſatisfaction, that in a nation ſo tolerant as this, it is acknowledged, that the only exception to that mild ſpirit of charity and benevolence, that, in religious controverſies, has guided its councils, is removed with the neceſſity that gave riſe to it. It is only to be regretted, that that work of Reformation was not attended with more general influence; and that a diſtinction was made in it between the ſouthern and northern banks of the Tweed. In a political view, the waving ſuch a diſtinction was deſirable, as nothing is more favourable to an extenſive population, than a general toleration: Nothing is more

inviting to ſtrangers to reſide among us, or encouraging to natives to ſtay at home. What general and bad conſequences have flowed, in both theſe reſpects, from this ſingle exception to toleration; what numbers of foreigners have been deterred by it from ſettling here; what numbers of Britiſh ſubjects, forced to emigrate hence, to ſeek in other lands that employment and preferment denied them in their own! So far as the toleration is not general, it is attended with theſe impolitic conſequences; and further, with this the widening the difference between the laws of the two parts of the iſland: The more they are aſſimilated, the ſtronger the union of intereſts will be cemented. Some of the leading points towards ſuch a happy event, might be an entire correſpondence on the ſubject here canvaſſed, an exchange of the Habeas Corpus Act, the ineſtimable privilege, the trial by jury, in extent and quality, as exerciſed in England, for the regiſtrations of Scotland; and, as much as might be, the refining the Ariſtocratical principles of the one conſtitution into the Democratic of the other.

Distinct as the two parts of the iſland are in their civil inſtitutions, they are not leſs ſo in their religious, in the manner the Reformation was introduced in them, and the effects attending its introduction. In Scotland, the ſame furious zeal broke out, and

gratified itſelf in the demolition of the magnificent cathedrals, and other edifices of worſhip, as appeared at Conſtantinople, on the decline of the Greek empire, under thoſe Emperors that were ſtyled Eikonoclaſtes, from the encouragement they afforded the breakers of the images, worſhipped by the regular clergy. As the means, in that part of the iſland, uſed in the propagation of the Reformed religion were ſo extravagantly wild, ſo the end propoſed in them was the extreme of departure from the Church of Rome, in the adoption of Calviniſm, or a ſpecies of it, Preſbyterianiſm. Lutheraniſm, as modelled in the Engliſh worſhip, may be conſidered as a proper medium, a refined ſimplicity between the two extremes, the exceſs of ſimplicity of Calviniſm on the one hand, and the exceſs of pomp, the abuſe of forms and ceremonies in the Church of Rome, on the other.

What of order, what of dignity in the latter, what of harmony and ſublimity, in the full voiced choir and pealing organ, may awaken rapturous devotion, raiſe in us what is low, it has retained; but exploded all that idolatrous worſhip of images, with all its train of pompous parade and form, uſeleſs ſhew and ceremony, ſo unſuitable to that decent fervour, that unaffected ſimplicity of worſhip, in which we

are to lift our thoughts to the Divinity, that before all altars does prefer the pure and upright heart.

Taken in one point of view, the Church of England Lutheraniſm is more analogous to the civil conſtitution of Scotland, which is Ariſtocratical, owing to the dignities, the different ranks and orders it has eſtabliſhed; and the Calviniſm of the Church of Scotland correſponds more with the Democratical ſtate of England, on account of its levelling principle. In another point of view, the preſent diſtribution is better ordered; that Church, which beſtows on its dignitaries rich benefices and endowments, being allotted to the richer country; and that other, that, in its exceſs of ſimplicity, is contented with ſtipendiary miniſters, belongs to the poorer people. No Reformed Church is near ſo well endowed as that of England. By a very accurate account, it appears, that, in 1755, the whole revenue of the Scottiſh clergy, including their glebe and church-lands, the rent of their manſes, eſtimated, according to a reaſonable valuation, amounted only to L. 68,514 : 1 : $5\frac{1}{12}$. So moderate a revenue affords a decent ſubſiſtence to 944 Miniſters. Including the reparation of churches and manſes, the whole annual expence did not exceed L. 80,000 or L. 85,000.

It is to be regretted, that the Revenues of th English Church are attended, in so great a measure with those bars to improvement by tithes; or that modus, and that a very moderate one, is not a ge neral law in the exaction of them. They are th chief sources of the disturbances in Ireland.

The attempt, in the middle of last century, t extend the same mode of worship, the Episcopal per suasion, over the whole island, proved fatal in it consequences both to Church and State, and produ ced a quite opposite effect to what was intended, i rendering the Presbyterian the common religion, o the ruins of Episcopacy. It is, in general, to be ob served, that, in the absolute governments, Popery prevails, the Reformed religion in the free States.

REMARKS

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Compared with the Roman, and other Ancient and Modern Republics.

THE freedom of the Conſtitution of England, in Church and State, is what it eclipſes all the nations of Europe in, modern or ancient. Its political ſtate, in its admirable combination, has been ſo much inveſtigated, ſo thoroughly underſtood by natives and foreigners; the balance of the three eſtates of Parliament, the Monarchial, Ariſtocratical, Democratical, the due equilibrium they ſo exactly preſerve, their mutual checks and controls, the happy arrangement and diſtribution of the three powers, the legiſlative, judicial, and executive, have all been ſo excellently diſplayed,

H

that, after Blackſtone, De Lolme, and Monteſquieu's elucidations of them, it would prove an arduous taſk, the offering any thing new on the ſubject. The French writer has barely drawn the outlines of that inimitable picture, which the Swiſs has given in all its native and genuine colours.

The legal and conſtitutional prerogatives ſtill remaining to the Crown, after all the ſucceſſive ſacrifices made of thoſe uſurped by the Tudor and Stuart race, are ſo great, as at firſt ſight, to appear incompatible with a limited, and more calculated for an abſolute monarchy. The king is to be viewed in a double light, as Sovereign, in his legiſlative capacity, and Supreme Magiſtrate, in his executive. As without his conſent and ſanction, no law can be enacted, he is entruſted with a diſcretionary check on the proceedings of the two legiſlative aſſemblies, in his negative voice: The control is great, and the frequent or unconſtitutional exertion of it would be liable to the moſt dangerous abuſe; it is therefore ſo rarely reſorted to, as not to have been once inſtanced this century. The contraſt is moſt ſtriking between the nature and exerciſe of this prerogative, and the Roman Tribunitial Veto.

He is the ſource of the judicial power—the fountain of honour, the ſuperintendent of commerce—he makes war and peace—ſends and receives ambaſſadors—makes alliances. He is, in addition to all this aſſemblage of power, fortified by the maxim, that the King can do no wrong; which implies that he is above the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice, that his miniſters are reſponſible for malverſation in office, for mal-adminiſtration. In all theſe ſources of power, ſuch as carried to exceſs might prove moſt dangerous to the conſtitution are the moſt anxiouſly guarded againſt by it.

With reſpect to the firſt of theſe enumerated, the office of Judge, originally, was during the pleaſure of the Crown, the writs bore, *durante bene placito*, and were afterwards changed to the ſtyle of *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; or during the faithful adminiſtration of the office. Still the Judges were too much under the influence of the Crown, as long as on the demiſe of the King, their continuance in office, depended on the will of the ſucceſſor. An act therefore paſſed in the beginning of the reign of George III. rendered the office independent of the demiſe of the King, and its duration not to be at the diſcretion of the ſucceſſor. No regulation could be better deviſed than this, to

ſecure the independence of the Judges, to diveſt them of the awe of undue influence, in the regular diſcharge of their duty, the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The Courts they preſide in are the King's, they are of his appointment, and the judicial writs run in his name; but further, there is no interpoſition of royal authority: If the King is involved in any queſtion with his ſubject, he is to repair to the tribunal of his Judges, there to await their ſentence.

THE prerogative veſted in him, as the author of titles and dignities, is more diſcretionary, leſs circumſcribed. As the branch of the legiſlature, it has reference to, is poſſeſſed of the leaſt weight in the State, as the balance of the conſtitution, chiefly reſides in the Lower Aſſembly, there is the leſs danger attending the diſcretionary exerciſe of this power. Any reſtraint put on it, would prove more hurtful to the equilibrium of the ſtate machine, than any temporary abuſe of it. Hence the vain and unconſtitutional attempt of the Lords, in the reign of George I. to limit their own numbers, and the rejection of the bill paſſed by them with that view by the Commons, who could not ſubmit to the ſhutting the door of the Upper Houſe on themſelves.

On our commerce, so much of the national prosperity depends, so much of the revenues of the State, that every individual in it, from the King downwards to his poorest subject, has a particular interest in its encouragement, and any measures of the King, as superintendent of it, of an opposite tendency, would not only have the effect to diminish one of the chief sources of his power and riches, but besides, would spread such an alarm, as to call for the interposition of Parliament.

The command and disposal of the sea and land forces, the discretionary power of making war and peace, seems the prerogative of the most dangerous and alarming nature. But when it is considered, that the raising of the funds that are to supply these forces, whether in war or peace, is no part of the same prerogative, but the peculiar privilege of the Commons, in Parliament assembled, our fears begin to vanish. So watchful over this important privilege, so jealous of it have the Commons been, as representatives of the people, holding the purse of the nation, that not satisfied with money-bills originating in their House, they will not suffer the smallest amendment to be made to them by the Lords, but, without examination, reject them, and anxiously guard

againſt every precedent, that might lead to ſuch an encroachment. The Peers never drop their pretenſions to ſuch a right, and nothing but the exceſſive vigilance of the other Houſe, could prevent their exerciſe of it. The Commons, availing themſelves of the importance of this privilege, were formerly in the practice of tacking other bills to the money-bills, to ſecure their paſſing. But the Peers, in their turn, have put an end to that practice, who never attend to a bill ſo preſented to them, whatever its merits may be. And here we have a ſtriking inſtance of the balance of the component parts of the Legiſlature, in which lies the main ſpring of their equilibrium, of that principle that regulates them in their actions and re-actions.

Nor are theſe the only ſafeguards againſt any unconſtitutional exerciſe of this prerogative. On the navy, the people rely, as the ſource of their national exiſtence and proſperity. But the army is viewed in a very different light, and with the moſt jealous eye. Nothing but the neceſſity of the caſe could reconcile them to it in any ſhape, or on any terms: The neceſſity ariſes from the conſtant and uniform practice of the other nations of Europe, that keep up ſo large ſtanding armies, and conſtrain us to do the ſame, for the maintenance of

our independence. Still our army differs from that of all the other ſurrounding ſtates, nor like theirs, can it properly be called a ſtanding army, as it only ſubſiſts from year to year, and the queſtion at the commencement of every ſeſſion of Parliament, is not whether it ſhall be continued, but whether it ſhall be renewed. The funds for its ſupport are annual, as well as itſelf, they ariſe out of the land and malt taxes. The Mutiny Bill likewiſe, for the diſcipline of that army, is annual: So that every year it is annihilated, every year created. And in the event of any bad uſe being made of that army, any one branch of the Legiſlature voting for its diſcontinuance, is all that is neceſſary for attaining the end. During its temporary exiſtence even, it acts in ſubordination to the civil power. Thus, formidable as the prerogative, this reaſoning is directed to, at firſt ſight appears, on the review of it, it has its control, and is reduced to its fixed and determined limits. Theſe precautions were rendered neceſſary by the dangerous precedents eſtabliſhed by Charles and James the II. the one in having guards to the number of 4000, the other in the eſtabliſhment of a regular ſtanding army.

With the fears attending this prerogative diſappear, on examination, thoſe that ariſe from the

power inherent in the Crown to diſſolve, prorogue, reaſſemble parliaments. If the neceſſities of the State, the wants of the Sovereio, are not ſufficient inducements to call together that aſſembly, as, from the above expoſition, it appears they are, ſtill there is another legal remedy, and reſource to reſort to, in ſuch an event, an act paſſed in Charles the Second's reign, that provides for the meeting of Parliament once at leaſt in three years. The Houſe of Commons have not only the power of ſettling the quantity of the ſupplies, but the ways and means of raiſing them, and before granting them, they can take a review of the State, and redreſs grievances. If the Crown was to be altogether dependent on the Commons for the ſupply of its occaſional wants, the counterpoiſe it forms to the popular influence on the conſtitution, would be too much weakened. It is therefore regulated that, at the beginning of every reign, a certain ſum annually is allotted by Parliament, during the King's life, to defray the expences of the civil liſt: In George the Third's reign, it was raiſed from L. 800,000 to L. 900,000. But previous to this grant, it may take a review of the conſtitution, examine the abuſes that have crept into it, correct them, provide remedies, and preventatives in future, enter into a renewal of the compact between king and people, and by ſuch means bring it back to its firſt prin-

ciples, an expedient ſo often fruitleſsly tried in the Roman State, the attempt of which proved fatal to the Gracchi, and ſuch virtuous citizens.

GREAT as are the prerogatives of the Crown, they are not without their checks and controls, without their counter-balancing privileges; and are found, on inveſtigation, to be ſuch as are peculiar to a limited monarchy; which, with all its limitations, is left poſſeſſed of as much power, as is compatible with a free and well regulated ſtate. A remarkable inſtance of its power De Lolme takes notice of, more likely to ſtrike a foreigner than a native: It is the diſgrace and removal of the Duke of Marlborough from all his places and employments, in the midſt of his victories, and ſurrounded as he was, by ſo great and ſo well affected allies, his companions in them. He contraſts the ſucceſs of that meaſure with the conduct of Hannibal and J. Cæſar, in ſimilar ſituations, the one carrying on the war ſo long in Italy, in oppoſition to the Councils of the Senate of Carthage; the other marching with his army to Rome to enſlave it, in contempt of the authority of the Senate, in defiance of the imprecations vented on his head, in that famous *Senatus conſultum* ſtill to be ſeen engraved on a ſtone, in the road from Rimini to Ceſenna, which devoted to the infernal gods, declared him ſacrilegi-

ous and parricide, that, with a legion, an army, or cohort, ſhould paſs the Rubicon *.

THE unity of the executive power contributes to its great influence. As number and time are eſſential requiſites to deliberation in legiſlative aſſemblies, ſo diſpatch is to the execution of them, which unity, in the power entruſted with it, is chiefly conducive to. The only inſtance in our hiſtory, where we find it divided, and the legiſlature uſurping a ſhare in it, in the troubles of Charles the Firſt's reign, the immediate conſequence was a civil war, and in it a total overthrow of the conſtitution. Nor leſs fatal conſequences ſprung from the diviſion of it in Rome, and the other ancient republics. The high dignity, and ſplendor annexed to the Crown, with the addition of ſtrength it derives from its being entailed on, and hereditary in the reigning family, the very great diſtance, the higheſt ſubject is viewed in, in compariſon with the ſuperior luſtre it ſheds, all form ſuch a happy train of circumſtances, as to free us at once from all the dangers attending an elective monarchy, more agreeable to theory than practice, all the ambitious views, aſpiring deſigns of popular leaders, factious and ſeditious Demagogues, evils that Rome conſtantly experienced.

* The boundary of his province of Ciſalpine Gaul.

What popular leader in the Houſe of Commons, aſpires higher than a place in adminiſtration, during the King's pleaſure, or a ſeat in the Houſe of Lords? Or what member of the Houſe of Lords aims at any higher dignity, than his hereditary title gives him, there where he is placed at ſo awful a diſtance from the throne? If ever any more aſpiring thoughts that pointed at the throne, could have entered the breaſt of any citizen, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, it was at the Revolution, as never was there a fairer opportunity to gratify them, than then preſented itſelf.

On the other hand to the unity of the executive power, to its ſole and undivided ſtate, we are to attribute the ſeveral limitations it has received; at once tracing up to the ſame ſource both its power, and the controls of it. It being one and entire, the reverſe of a complicated nature, it is the eaſier comprehended: As ſuch, it has been familiarized, ſubjected to the eyes of Engliſhmen, ever ſince the foundation of their monarchy. Having ſo long known what it has been, it is long too ſince they have known what it ſhould be. Upwards of ſix hundred years ago, they began to ſet bounds to it, and in the ſpirit of liberty, ſaid, So far it ſhall go, and no further: From the day they began to the preſent, they have never deſiſted from reforming it,

more exactly defining its nature, more precisely ascertaining its proper limits.

There is the same reason and necessity for the resolution into parts of the legislative power, that there is for the unity of the executive. Their mutual checks and controls, their action and re-action, like the due mixture of concords and discords in music, conspire to the general harmony. The great question touching the source of legislation, in assemblies composed of parts, was never so well resolved, or so happily decided, as in this constitution, and that diametrically opposite to what has been its issue, in all other free states, ancient and modern. In all other such states, it has originated in the lesser assemblies, and the propositions there canvassed have received their sanction in the greater. At Athens, the Council of five hundred deliberated, the people decided. At Rome, the Consuls proposed, the people resolved. The same errors have crept into, and prevail in the States of Venice and Switzerland. In the former, the Grand Council of the Nobles prepare the business for the Senate. In Holland, the deliberations of the States General are canvassed in the Councils of the separate provinces. In the Parliaments of Scotland, the Lords of the Articles, proceeding on the same defective principle, prepared all the bills for its discussion.

But in England, this arrangement is completely inverted, where the Houſe of Commons, the repreſentatives of the people, the moſt conſiderable branch of the Legiſlature, in point of weight and numbers, is the ſource of legiſlation, from whence it aſcends, through the Houſe of Lords, in the ſecond inſtance, to the Royal authority, in the laſt reſort, where reſides the power of ſimply approving or rejecting, without that of altering or amending.

Nor are the meſſages, ſometimes ſent by the King to the Houſes of Parliament, any exceptions to this rule, as they are not obligatory, only recommendatory; the diſcuſſing of them is diſcretionary, and if entered on, it is on the motion of ſome member; nor does the King's name appear on any reſolutions that may be formed, in conſequence of them.

What is propoſed by the many, is moſt likely to be for the good of the whole; what by one or a few is, with the ſame probability, directed to partial and ſiniſter ends, repugnant to the intereſts of the community. Thus does the Britiſh Legiſlature, in its ſtructure, order, and gradation, reſemble a pyramid, whoſe broad foundation reſts in the repreſentative body of the people, terminating gradually

through the medium of the Peers, in the ſpiral point, the executive power.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe precautions taken in the modelling Parliament, the beſt that could have been deviſed by human means, there would have been a palpable defect in the conſtitution, and room for the intruſion of the moſt flagrant abuſes, had not the judicial power been kept diſtinct. If the framers of the laws had alſo been the interpreters, what a perverſion of juſtice! But far otherwiſe, the deciſion of the laws remains with others than the framers; who, equally with the whole nation, are ſubjected to them, a powerful incentive to the framing only of ſuch as are good.

THE judicial power is lodged in the people aſſiſted by the judges. The trial by jury, that our oldeſt, and beſt legal inſtitution, as old as the days of the great Alfred, has there veſted it. No other nation ever had it in the purity the Engliſh have, and ſuch as had it in any ſhape, have loſt it. In Scotland, where it is retained, it is quite differently conſtituted from what it is in England. It is there confined to criminal proceedings, and a plurality of the jurors voices only is requiſite in the verdict. In England, it is alike reſorted to in civil and criminal caſes, the jurors are judges of law and fact, and in

judging of them muſt be unanimous. In the ſupplementary aſſiſtance the people derive from the judges, in the exercise of this power, they are to look for the utmoſt light and integrity; their eminence and diſtinguiſhed abilities inſure the one ſupport, their full ſecurity and independence the other.

With this power of judging of the laws inherent in the people, there is another moſt important one, that of judging the lawgivers themſelves. For that purpoſe, there is ſeptennially an appeal made to their tribunal, where the repreſentatives of their chuſing muſt appear to anſwer for their conduct; thoſe that have faithfully diſcharged their duty, to be rechoſen; thoſe that have abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, to be replaced by others, of whom better hopes are entertained.

What deſcriptions of men are admitted to paſs on this great periodical inqueſt of the nation, may be ſeen from the following ſhort ſtate of the qualifications that entitle to vote for members of Parliament.

Freeholds under the Crown, and Lords of manors, to the extent of forty ſhillings, entitle to vote. There are two kinds of cuſtomary tenants under Lords of manors, certain and uncertain; thoſe of

either defcription, if they have lands tithe-free to the extent of forty fhillings, are qualified to vote. It is of no confequence what the modus or compofition was they paid for their tithes, however fmall, if they now are tithe-free to that amount, they afford a fufficient qualification, on this medium, that the tithes are of fo much older inftitution, than the feudal tenures. It was about twenty years ago, that this point of the free tithes was firft litigated, and decided in favour of them, in fome of Lord Lonfdale's contefted elections, which formed a very important epoch in the Englifh conftitution, as till then no cuftomary tenants, whether their fines were certain or uncertain, under Lords of manors, could vote.

A LEASE hold for life, of forty fhillings of yearly value is a qualification.

TENANTS, in ancient demefne, vote: Copyholders do not, though it would appear, the above rule of free tithes, by parity of reafon, is applicable to copyholders, as well as to cuftomary tenants.

THE qualifications for borough elections are more complicated and various. Freemen, or thofe admitted to the freedom of the corporation, have a right to vote. Befides thefe, fuch of the inhabitants

as rent houſes, in ſome boroughs, to the amount of L. 10 a-year, paying ſcot and lot, as it is termed, or contributing to the poor-rates to that extent, are entitled to vote. The ſame qualification often enables to vote for members both of towns and counties, as in the preceding caſe of one having the freehold property of a houſe in a town of the above value. A mortgage on ſuch a property does not prevent the right of voting. How far this rule extends in the Engliſh conſtitution, is not ſaid. It regulates the election of the town of Leiceſter, one of the oldeſt in England, and probably it is applicable to ſeveral others, though not general. The ſame limitation is to be underſtood of the rule ſcot and lot. In ſome boroughs, pot-boiling qualifies to vote, ſo very democratical is the conſtitution of this country, and governed by ſuch variety of rules.

Writers ſeem in general to agree, in reducing the different ſpecies of tenures to three in number, but differ in the appellations given them: Some denominate them freeholds, copyhold, and leaſehold; others adopt the term cuſtom inſtead of copyhold.

From which diverſity of terms, it would appear, that copyhold and cuſtom are ſynonymous, though that is not generally allowed. One diſtinguiſhing

mark lawyers point out is, that copyholds may be entailed, cuſtomary lands may not.

The qualifications of the voters of Scotland ſhew the Ariſtocratical ſpirit of the conſtitution of that country, contraſted with the Democratical of England. It is there four hundred pounds Scots of valued rent, holding of the Crown, or forty ſhillings of old extent in county elections. In thoſe for the boroughs, the Magiſtrates in Council elect.

As an additional corroboration of the popular barrier, the cenſorial power, ariſing from the liberty of the preſs, is veſted in the body of the people at large. All arbitrary Magiſtrates, ſuch as cenſors and dictators, evince the radical weakneſs in the conſtitution, that is reduced to the neceſſity of having recourſe to them. Monteſquieu entertained high notions of the cenſors tribunal erected in ancient Rome, not aware that it was the means employed by the Senate for the further extenſion of its authority. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, is againſt the free diſcuſſion of the conduct of government, on pain of capital puniſhment. Sir Edward Coke beſtows high encomiums on the Star Chamber, for the reſtraints it put on the preſs. After the ſuppreſſion of that court, the Long Parliament continued the reſtrictions, as did Charles and James II.

and even after the Revolution, they remained four years, when the Parliament refuſed its aſſent to their further continuance; ſince which time, the liberty of the preſs has been fully eſtabliſhed.

As the laſt in the order of ſucceſſion of the important privileges derived to the ſubject, it crowns them all, renders them all more effectual, and none more ſo, than the immediate preceding one, the right of election. It is by this free and open communication of the public ſentiments, and cenſures of men and meaſures, that the people are made acquainted with the ſtate of the nation, with their protectors and betrayers; that, of courſe, they are enabled to avail themſelves, with ſucceſs, of their ſeptennial luſtrum, ſo infinitely preferable to, and widely different from the quinquennial luſtrum of the Roman cenſors: Not only that, but in waiting its periodical returns, they are furniſhed, in conſequence of it, with never-failing reſources, armed at all points with infallible weapons of defence againſt the attacks of arbitrary power.

This ineſtimable privilege is to be uſed, not abuſed: The liberty it confers on all, is by none to be ſuffered to degenerate into licentiouſneſs, and, in the exceſs of licentiouſneſs, to give vent to ſcurrilous invectives, defamatory libels, to which there are le-

gal punishments annexed. It is to be observed, however, that all attacks on Government, even such as are groundless, are attended with less risk than those aimed at individuals. The measures of Government are to be more narrowly watched, and closely inspected, more jealously canvassed, than the actions of the subject, whose reputation is protected with the same anxious care, by the laws that guard his life, and secure his property.

THE citizens of Geneva enjoy a right of preferring remonstrances, or representations to the magistrates, to which they are obliged to give answers, they are followed by replies, and these in their turn by answers: every renewal of address to the Magistrates, is attended with an increase of numbers, as they appear to be founded in reason. To this Censorial privilege, De Lolme attributes the preservation of his countrymens liberties, more entire than those of the other Swiss Cantons, as it operates as a remedy, not only of past abuses, but preventative of future, and serves as a powerful control on the conduct of the Magistrates. The objection that appears to lie against it, and distinguishes it from ours, arises from the numbers and confusion attending the exercise of it, consequently the danger of its being productive of scenes similar to those of the tumultuary petitions, that ushered in the troubles of Charles the First's reign.

Our addreſs to the public is more cool and diſpaſſionate, free from the contagion of factious example, the intoxication of party, riot, and ſedition, ſo readily caught from numbers. It is the reſult of reaſon, and ſober reflection, made at that diſtance, and in that point of view, whence objects are ſeen in their true and juſt proportions; and if it does not ſtand the teſt of reaſon, and come up to the ſtandard of truth, it falls to the ground. It is the power of acting in the people at large, more than the very acting, that operates as the great and conſtitutional control on Miniſters. Collectively ſet in motion, they are as bodies that ferment. The power of ſo acting collectively, produces better effects, as a preventative of mal-adminiſtration, than the exerciſe of it often does, as a remedy. Miniſters ſtand in awe of that great tribunal, before which they appear for their juſtification, where the eyes of the people are fixed on them, to watch their conduct that is liable to ſcrutiny and cenſure, from whatever quarter it comes, or from all quarters at once.

To puniſh embezzlement, or miſapplication of the ſupplies to other purpoſes, than thoſe they were voted for, there lies an impeachment againſt the Miniſter, at the inſtance of the Commons, before the Lords.

Added to the ſingular advantages on the popular ſide, the liberty of the preſs confers, there is the right of petitioning either Houſe of Parliament, or the Crown, and the right both the Houſes have of addreſſing, petitioning, and carrying up remonſtrances to the Throne.

If this aſſemblage of great and powerful conſtitutional barriers, the reſult of the collected force of the wiſdom of ages, ſhould prove too weak to reſiſt the concealed or open attacks of arbitrary power, which is a violent ſuppoſition to make, in ſuch a caſe of extreme neceſſity, in the laſt reſort, and as a laſt reſource, reſiſtance is to be had recourſe to by the people; appeal is to be made by them to the God of arms and of battles. As in all civilized States, there muſt be government, under whatever form, whether of Democracy, Ariſtocracy, Monarchy, or a mixture of the three; and as all government conſiſts in the ſacrifice of natural liberty, as that is ſacrificed only to civil liberty, which preſuppoſes the leaſt diminution poſſible of the natural, and that in conformity to known and fixed laws, a violation of that original compact, that binds ſocieties in one common bond of union, is a reſolution of government into anarchy and confuſion. The exerciſe of an uſurped authority, and lawleſs power, is war levied on the ſubject: The ſubject is

to oppoſe force to force; and the only remedy, left for their defence, is in reſiſtance. It was reſiſtance that laid the foundation of our liberty in the Great Charter; it was reſiſtance that completed it at the Revolution, that memorable æra, when, if before implied inherently in the rights of the people, it was avowedly recognized, as a legal remedy founded on conſtitutional principles; and the original tacit contract between King and people, declared to be broken, a renewal of it was made in expreſs terms, and in it a ſanction given to this right. The ſame language is held by Locke, in his Eſſay on Government, who lived at the time of that important event: The ſame by Blackſtone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. i. ch. i. p. 140. The maxim of *Vox populi, vox Dei*, of *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*, are in ſupport of the doctrine, that has been echoed back to us by him, of that other land of liberty, who has ſhed ſo much light on this. Equally great with the aid acquired to the right of election from the liberty of the preſs, is that which the right of reſiſtance derives from it, as the moſt certain and expeditious means of ſpreading the alarm through the nation, of effecting a general union in it, the more to inſure its ſucceſs. As intimately connected as the liberty of the preſs is with the Britiſh Conſtitution, ſo incompatible is it with an abſolute government, and for

the ſame reaſon it is adopted in the one it is excluded in the other, and ſuch reſtrictions ſubſtituted in its ſtead, as our Star Chamber formerly impoſed.

Rousseau affirms in his Social Contract, ch. xv. a work, which he himſelf confeſſes, was undertaken without conſulting his ſtrength, and long ſince abandoned, that, though the people of England think they are free, they are much miſtaken; they are only ſo during the election of Members of Parliament; no ſooner are they elected, than the people are ſlaves—they are nothing. It is inconceivable how ſuch a notion could have been entertained by a writer, that had arrived at any degree of eminence; and after entertaining it, ſtill more, how he ſhould have given it to the public ſo crudely digeſted. It cannot be better combated, than it is by the irreſiſtible force of argument of his fellow-citizen, who clearly evinces that the author of the treatiſe in view, neither knew the Conſtitution of England, that of the ancient Republics, or the principles of government in general, that could ſuffer himſelf to be betrayed into ſuch a wild and extravagant paradox. He was a ſtranger to that undoubted axiom, and fundamental principle in politics, that the government of the many, reſolves itſelf into that of a few: He was not aware, that

when ſtate affairs are left to the deciſion of the multitude, it is the ſame as if they were left to that of chance, to the drawing of lots, or throw of the dice, a mere matter of hazard. The people, collectively taken, have neither leiſure nor abilities for the diſcuſſion of political ſubjects, they muſt, therefore, be under the guidance of others, in the reſolutions they come to on them. Independent then of the ſtate tricks in Rome, impoſed on them by the Cenſors, by the Augurs, in reſpect of the omens, the various accidents of time and place, the white and black days, the flight of the birds to the right or to the left, not to mention the ſtratagem ſo often practiſed, of the falſifying the votes, it required not the power of a Cicero or Demoſthenes to influence them; for every factious and ſeditious demagogue could produce the ſame effects, make the ſame impreſſions in their popular harangues, that a Cicero or Demoſthenes could. But this is not all, the voices of either deſcription of orators, though poſſeſſed of Stentorian lungs, could not reach beyond the limits of audible ſounds: ſo far the impreſſions they gave might go, but no further, beyond that it muſt have been received but at ſecond hand, every remove from the ſource weakening its force, till gradually dying away, it came at laſt to be totally loſt in the extremities of the circle. Suppoſing then the harangue of theſe popular lead-

ers to be addreſſed to the paſſions, and not to the underſtanding, as the moſt likely to be calculated for ſuch an audience; ſuppoſing them too (which is not a more violent ſuppoſition, as it is taken from the general complexion of human nature, ſuch as it is to be found in all ages and countries) to betray the truſt repoſed in them by the public, where private views do not co-operate with it, and, in preference to it, ſtudy their particular intereſts, where they are found ſeparate; or again, ſuppoſing them to blend the two, the public and private intereſts, and in a number of propoſals offered to the public, having the one undoubtedly more at heart, and uſing the others only as maſks to conceal the main deſigns: In all theſe ſuppoſitions, then, and all of them highly probable, the original impreſſion given is bad, and every remove from it is ſtill worſe, and more weakened, as in each it receives freſh gloſſes and interpretations, according to the biaſſes and inclinations of the various recorders, till gradually ſo effaced, it at laſt is not felt at all; conſequently, great part of the hearers are miſled in the conception they form of the propoſitions before them, and ſtill greater is miſinformed of them, and the greateſt of all is ignorant of, and ſo prepared, decide on them.

The people's right of voting, firſt reduced to mere forms and ceremonies, was at length altoge-

ther annihilated. When Demosthenes formed his speech, and corrected the impediments in it on the sea-shore, he familiarized to his eyes the agitations of popular assemblies, in those of the waves, both often equally ungovernable beyond the reach and power of his eloquence. The passions of the multitude are easily excited, their very numbers contribute much to the effect. Once moved, the contagion spreads by communication. All orators possessed of address, skilled in the knowledge of human nature, in large popular assemblies, speak to the passions of their hearers, through the passions to subdue the understandings, from the heat of imagination, and glow of enthusiasm, rather than by sober appeal to the judgment, through the medium of reason, which loses its effect, has no influence on the mass of the people collected together. Truth requires but a light to shew it the way, in order to follow: The passions stand in need of a fire to kindle, so as to rouse them to action. The raging of the sea, and madness of the people, are figuratively speaking synonymous; the stilling of both alike is the effect of Omnipotence; the helm of the ship, in the one instance, is often of no avail, and reason too often in the other; passion, and not reason, operates on the multitude. Impressions made on it are as those made on a smooth body of water, where circle succeeds to circle; the stronger the near-

er the centre, the weaker the further removed from it, till at laſt gradually diminiſhing they wear away, and dwindle to nothing.

THIS reaſoning is applicable to Democracies in general; but what was the fate of that of Rome in particular? That ſtate, in the firſt revolution it effected from the dominion of its kings to the conſular government, exchanged but one abſolute maſter for more, became an ariſtocracy. But, to deceive the people, and reconcile them to the new form of government, it was provided, that the faſces, or thoſe ſymbols of the power of life and death ſhould only be carried before one of the Conſuls, leſt the terror of the Romans ſhould be doubled, as Livy expreſſes it. In this firſt ſtage of reform, the firſt idea that preſents itſelf, is a confuſion of the three powers, the legiſlative, executive, and judicial, in the Conſuls and Senate. If in after times of the republic, they ever were divided, though more diffuſed, ſtill they were confuſed, and the limits, never accurately drawn, ſtill leſs obſerved.

AFTER the three memorable ſeceſſions, when the people had fully eſtabliſhed their power, and the better to guard it againſt the encroachments of the Senate, they had raiſed to themſelves the Tribunes,

in imitation of the Ephori of Sparta, they little or nothing improved their condition. The order obſerved in Legiſlation was the reverſe of ours, it originated in the higheſt department of the ſtate. What the Senate there propoſed was ſubmitted to the Tribunes, who each ſeparately had their negative; and if by accident they were unanimous, the deciſion of the people, in their collective capacity, was reſorted to, in the laſt inſtance, the leaſt capable of either originally propoſing, or finally ratifying any queſtion of moment. Ill calculated as they were to legiſlate in affairs of the greateſt conſequence, legiſlation eluded their moſt vigilant ſearch; if they ſeized on it with the hundred arms of a Briareus, it eſcaped their graſps under the hundred ſhapes of a Proteus. It was thus the Senate uſurped the power of levying taxes, when, at the ſiege of Veii, they firſt gave pay to the ſoldiers. The people, dazzled with the allurement, in the overflowings of their gratitude, flocked to the Senate in numbers, ſeized the hands of the ſenators, as they came out, calling them Fathers and Benefactors. In the effuſions of their joy, they were not aware of the invaſion of their right of legiſlation, and that in the tendereſt point, the diſpoſal of their property.

The Tribunes, whofe duty it was, did not undeceive and protect them from the facrifice; they even connived at the Senate's ufurping the power of both difpenfing with and abrogating the laws.—At length after the expulfion of the Decemvirs, the Plebifcita, or refolutions of the people in their Comitia Tributa, had the force of law; which was an aggravation of the diforders of legiflation, as, added to all thefe evils, it was now undivided, and all attempts to a balance of parts loft. The fame order was obferved in the election of the Kings; the Senate appointed a Magiftrate of the Inter-regnum, who elected them; it was neceffary that the election fhould be confirmed by the people, according to Dionyfius the Halicarnaffian.

The Tribunes were never more zealous or unanimous in any meafure, than that, that had for its object their admiffion to all the great offices of the State, thofe of Conful, Dictator, Cenfor, and others, and that removed all diftinction between Patricians and Plebeians as flattering moft their private views. Raifed fo high, they now thought that a ftep higher would put them at the head of the State, and in their rife began to difdain fubjection, embroiled affairs, facrificed the good of the whole to their private ends; from the people's favourites and benefactors, became, in their turn, their op-

preſſors, the objects of their jealouſy. The Senate encouraged the ambitious ſchemes of the moſt popular and enterprizing among them, invited them into their order, to a participation of their dignities, to detach them from the popular cauſe, and leave it the more defenceleſs. But other pretenders to popular favour, though more biaſſed to Patrician honours, ſoon ſucceeded: And the evils meant to be obviated, in their exaltation, were but increaſed by the remedies applied, they were perpetual and remedileſs. What ſets the radical defects of this Commonwealth in the ſtrongeſt light, is the frequent recourſe to the violent and deſperate remedy, the creating a Dictator, or veſting one of the Conſuls with Dictatorial powers. He was without control, above all law, ſuſpended the functions of government, and at his feet was laid the republic. This extraordinary remedy, and every other reſorted to, proved, at moſt, but temporary palliatives, totally ineffectual to bring back the ſtate to its original principles, defective as they were. The Gracchi fell ſacrifices to that vain attempt in the reſtoration of the Agrarian laws. Monteſquieu's uſual penetration ſeems to fail him where he admires the Roman government for the power inherent in its conſtitution, from its commencement, of conſtantly correcting abuſes, either by the ſpirit of the people, the coercion of

the Senate, or the authority of certain Magiſtrates. It is in that particular he contraſts that ſtate with Carthage and Athens, the one unable to reform, the other unwilling to remedy its errors. In the ſame point of view, he alſo contraſts it with the modern republics of Italy, which, inſtead of boaſting of their perpetuity, ought only to boaſt of the perpetuity, of their abuſes. Grandeur Decadence, chap. 8. He ſeems to be in a ſimilar error, where he conſiders the uſurpation of the Decemvirs as the only ſuſpenſion of liberty in the Roman republic. It, from its foundation to the diſſolution of the empire, was conſtantly toſſed and agitated in extremes, convulſed and ſhaken by cabal, faction, party-diviſions, civil broils, inteſtine wars, the objects and names of them in the different ſtages, only varying; at one time, the conteſt for power being between the Patricians and Plebeians; at another between Sylla and Marius, and under the Emperors, the ſource of contention between the Blues and Greens was often a favourite Actreſs or Eunuch, *de lana ſæpe caprina.* He is equally in an error, where he ſays, ch. x. that the force of the conſtitution preſerved Rome in the midſt of its corruption; and in general it may be obſerved, that the great defect in that treatiſe is too great an admiration of that conſtitution, and too little knowledge of its defects.

The fate of the Gracchi leads to the difcuffion of that other power, the Judicial, where it was lodged, how executed? It was lodged every where, and faithfully executed no where. The Confuls had the abfolute power of life and death; the Dictators, the Senate, and its Judicial Commiffioners, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the people, the fame. The Knights were at laft admitted to a fhare of this power, the abufes of which were enormous; inftanced how repeatedly in the multitude of citizens thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. That partial juftice, that connived at the murders of the virtuous Gracchi, and upwards of four thoufand of their followers, let a Verres and a Pifo efcape. The fame perverfion of juftice pervaded the empire from one extremity to another. Italy was up in arms on account of it in the Social war; there were every where combinations.—The Mithridatic war, the moft fevere Rome ever experienced, was bloodily marked, in its opening, by the maffacre of eighty thoufand, by fome accounts, by others a hundred thoufand, of the people, in the cities of Afia driven to defpair, and revolting againft the cruelties of the Proconfuls.

After thefe difmal details, the corruption and tyranny of the public judgments in Athens and Sparta, would be mifplaced, though in thefe ftates

alſo they were carried to great exceſs. In the early times of the Republic, the Tribunes, to check the abuſe the Conſuls made of their abſolute power, in Judicial proceedings, when there were no fixed laws to regulate them, were the means of the creation of the Decemvirs, for the purpoſe of introducing into Rome from Athens, the laws of the twelve tables. The Senate, in yielding to the meaſure, ſubmitted to the ſuſpenſion of the Conſulſhip, in order to free themſelves of the Tribunes, with them of the people, and all control of their authority. But, to the diſappointment of their views, the Decemvirs, availing themſelves of their unlimited ſway, trampled on the rights both of Senate and people, in open violation of the laws they framed, and the time preſcribed to the duration of their office. The mutual jealouſy of the two orders, that gave riſe to theſe tyrants, and deprived each of them of the means of controlling them, ſuffered a temporary relaxation; and they conſpired to effect their expulſion; that no ſooner done, than it revived, to produce the moſt fatal change in the ſtate, the giving the force of laws to the Plebiſcita or reſolutions of the people on the propoſitions made to them by the Tribunes in their *Comitia Tributa.* This was the ſtratagem they uſed to obtain their private ends, and complete the ſacrifice of the people's intereſt, in the levelling all ranks and diſtinctions,

and procuring their admiſſion to all the offices of executive power. To effect a diviſion of it, an union of the legiſlative took place, the very reverſe of all true policy, and the judicial power was arbitrarily exerciſed, whether before the exiſtence of the twelve tables, at the time, or afterwards. The Romans then had no law, conſequently no liberty, all was anarchy and confuſion. The principles of the conſtitution were bad ;—every attempt to bring it back to them proved abortive, and every ſucceſſive revolution tended to make them worſe, as all ſuperſtructures raiſed on a falſe foundation muſt quickly decay. Nor other was the fate of the revolutions in Athens, and others of the ancient republics.

In England, they have ever been favourable to liberty, and attended with an addition of ſtrength to its cauſe, except where the people were diſunited, as in the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, that preceded the acceſſion of the Tudors to the throne ; and in thoſe in Charles the Firſt's reign, when, added to their diviſions in conformity to the Roman policy, their repreſentatives were made independent of them, of the executive power, whoſe functions they uſurped, and confounded with it the legiſlative.

In the period that elapſed from the end of the third Punic war to the ſubverſion of the republic by Cæſar, it was ſingular how the office of judges under the Prætors fluctuated between the Senatorial, Equeſtrian and Plebeian orders; ſometimes ſhared by them all three, at others divided between the two firſt. In the times that preceded that period, it was engroſſed by the Senators. The appeal to the people in criminal judgments, which of right belonged to them in the regal ſtate, and throughout the republican form of government, notwithſtanding the many confirmations it received, was totally diſregarded. The laws defective in themſelves, thoſe of the twelves tables, bloody too, as flowing from a bloody ſource, the Athenian Draco's, were ſtill more bloodily executed; or rather, in the public judgments and executions, there was a violation of all law. The capital puniſhments were aggravated by every ſpecies of cruelty, ſuch as throwing the citizens headlong from the Tarpeian rock, hanging them on a croſs, ſcourging them to death, with the head between the branches of a fork. The ſlaves were put to the torture, that refinement of cruelty practiſed by the Greeks. The dreadful calamities flowing from ſuch a perverted ſyſtem of things were irretrievable, every attempt to correct them was ineffectual, they increaſed, with the advancement in years, and ſize

of the republic, which if in its beſt days ſo radically defective, as without reſource, or poſſibility of recovery, to be ſo overwhelmed with their influx, its degeneracy ſerved only to inflame the malady. And when, in its degenerate days, the ſource of juſtice was ſo corrupted, as in the very centre of the ſtate, to cauſe the revolt of all Italy, how tainted muſt have been the ſtreams flowing from it; every remove from the ſeat of empire to the moſt remote provinces muſt have received an increaſe of contagion. In Sicily, ſo little removed, what pathetic repreſentations does Cicero give of the frauds, corruptions, extortions, rapines, plunder, conſummate cruelties of Verres, yet all connived at by the judges, and left unpuniſhed. The bare relation at this diſtance of time makes human nature revolt; yet at the time of their actual commiſſion, and under the eyes of the Roman citizens, the powers of ſuch eloquence, joined with the truth and notoriety of the facts, could not rouſe the public indignation againſt them. Nor other was the ſtate of Piſo's government, or of all Aſia, that in a day maſſacred throughout its cities, as has been obſerved, eighty thouſand Romans, to glut its revenge for the cruelties exerciſed on it. An order of the Senate to Paulus Æmilius, as recorded by Plutarch, was to ſack and deſtroy unawares, at a ſtated hour, ſeventy populous cities; in conſequence of which bar-

barity, an hundred and fifty thousand souls were sold to the highest bidder. Augustus pardoned the cruelties of his Governor Herod, who steeped his butchering hands in the blood of the Innocents, and at one stroke of the whole Jewish Sanhedreim. With the inveteracy of the miseries consequent on these enormous abuses of the judicial power, kept pace those of the legislative, and for the same reason in both, the original defect in their constitution, the disorders of which increased with those in the human frame, from the inroads of luxury, acquiring additional violence, in proportion to the growing extent of the commonwealth; and if, when confined to the walls of Rome, or to a small territory round them, in the nature of things, the elections and legislative assemblies could not have been other than seditious tumultuary concourses; how much more so in the later centuries of the republic, when all Italy was admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens, and all Italy flocked to the Forum, if it could find admittance there, to decide on state affairs, but not as constituent members of a regular civil government, but as in a state of war, its fields deserted and uncultivated, citizens armed against citizens, with each side their leaders, their decisions were marked with bloodshed, the Forum strowed with their dead bodies.

The ſpirit of family at Rome, which, with the power of life and death it gave fathers, was like an imperium in imperio, and repugnant to the ſpirit of liberty. In the ſame manner, the tolerance of ſlavery, in the very heart of the ſtate, familiariſed the eyes of the citizens too much to it, and contributed alſo to prepare them for that abject ſlavery they themſelves were one day to be ſubjected to, and from habit trained them up to cruelty.

The fall of Rome Monteſquieu attributes to two principal cauſes, the greatneſs of the empire, and of the capital. The radical defects in the conſtitution were extenſive in their ruinous conſequences, in proportion to the extent of both. The eye of the ruling power could traverſe, the hand, in which it was lodged, could reach the limits of Italy, but not beyond the Alps, and acroſs the ſeas. The armies at ſuch diſtances were not the armies of the republic, but of Sylla and Cæſar: They were devoted not to the republic, out of their reach, but to their general at hand. From the extent of the empire, he draws this reflection: "What cauſes free ſtates "to be of ſhorter duration than others is, that "the misfortunes and ſucceſs they experience, are "alike detrimental to their liberty; which, in a "deſpotic government, alike confirm the peoples

"submiſſion. A republic wiſely adminiſtered, "ought not to riſk any thing which may expoſe it "to good or bad fortune: The only good it ought "to aſpire to is the perpetuity of its ſtate."

By analogy of reaſon, paſſing from the extent of the empire to that of the city; if in it the people, acting in their legiſlative capacity collectively, occaſioned ſuch diſorders, as in the infancy of the ſtate, when almoſt confined within the walls of the city, were attended with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms, what were then, or in its ſtill further extent, but tumults, riots, and ſeditions, were turned into civil wars, when the privileges of Roman citizens came to be equidiſtant with the boundaries of Italy, and each ſtate had its ſeparate leader and protector, who, as his ambition directed, led whole towns and nations to the forum to diſturb the ſuffrages, and confound the elections. What he ſays of the laws of Rome, are more applicable to thoſe of Britain, as thoſe of Rome were neither ſo well framed, and wholly perverted in their execution.

Cicero, on the ſame ſubject, ſays, that the greatneſs of the Roman empire was more owing to the weakneſs of its enemies, than its own internal ſtrength. It is true Monteſquieu ſays, that the laws of Rome became unequal to the government of the

republic; but it is a thing that has conſtantly happened, that good laws, which have been the cauſe of the aggrandiſement of a ſmall republic, become a burden to it, when it has reached its grandeur, becauſe they were ſuch as might naturally make a great people, but not govern them. There is a great difference between good and ſuitable laws; thoſe which make a people maſters of others, and thoſe which are to maintain a power once eſtabliſhed. An overgrown extended empire is reduced to this alternative, a total inability to ſupport itſelf by the ſame means it roſe, and if it changes, by any different ſyſtem of government. But it was by Roman policy, not Roman laws, by the maxim, *Divide et impera*, and ſimilar ones, that the world was ſubdued. This reaſoning is ſtrictly applicable to Britiſh legiſlation, when the trial by jury, that its chief ornament, was found incapable of being tranſplanted to the Aſiatic latitudes. In the Britiſh foreign dependencies, the trial by jury, the Habeas Corpus Act, independent judges and councils, limited governors, are all unknown; in oppoſition to all theſe ineſtimable franchiſes, the maxim prevails, That the reins of government, from a kind of ſtate-neceſſity in the remote provinces, muſt be drawn with a ſtronger hand than thoſe at home.

If the evils of our elections have not kept pace with thoſe of the Roman, in proportion to the extent of the two empires, and their capitals, that is owing to the difference of the two conſtitutions, the repreſentative and collective: And if, from the ſuperiority of ours, they do not produce the ſame fatal effects in our decline, that they did in that of ancient Rome, yet thoſe riots, ſeditions and tumults, that were incident to it in the better and more virtuous days of the republic, are now at length creeping into the elections of our metropolis and its neighbourhood, owing to the exceſs of its ſize and numbers, as was inſtanced in the Weſtminſter and Middleſex conteſted and ſcrutiniſed elections.

The grandeur of Rome reſulted from the perpetual ſtate of war it was in; from its policy, not its laws or conſtitution; war without was the only means of ſecuring peace within; and not always that, for it was neceſſary, in order to gain that end at laſt, that the wars it was engaged in ſhould be obſtinate, againſt powerful determined enemies, that called for all its exertions to ſubdue. Such were the Punic and Mithridatic wars. In their obſtinacy and number, they bore a great reſemblance; they each were reſumed after three intervals of relaxation, as they may be termed more than peaces. In Mithridates, Rome found another Hannibal, who reconquered

Aſia and Greece from it, who, in the various reverſes of his fortune, in the midſt of the defeats he received from three ſucceſſive Roman generals, Sylla, Lucullus and Pompey, the treaſons and conſpiracies of his wife, ſons, family and friends, deſerted, reduced to the laſt extremity, exiled from his own dominions, even then formed the daring project of marching to Rome with thoſe barbarous nations that were one day to enſlave it.

After the downfal of the Carthaginian ſtate, and conſequent rapid conqueſt of Greece and Aſia, is to be dated the firſt epoch of the Roman declenſion, in the great and ſudden influx of Aſiatic luxury. The corruption following on it, firſt directed the views of the ambitious and deſigning citizens againſt the liberties of their country; after the defeat of Mithridates, they were furniſhed with the means of gratifying them. Then, as there was not ſufficient occupation for the arms of the Republic abroad, it was that they were turned againſt itſelf at home; when the world furniſhed it with no more enemies, it became its own. Civil wars ſucceeded to foreign, and it is in them that ſuperior talents are diſplayed, talents that in peace would never appear. It is then that Syllas and Cæſars ariſe, to ſupplant all rivalſhip in their fellow-citizens, and uſurp abſolute power: The chains that

the firſt of theſe invaders of the people's right forged, were rivetted by the ſecond, beyond a poſſibility of removal.

It was after civil wars, thoſe of the Houſe of York and Lancaſter firſt, then thoſe of Charles the Firſt's reign, the only two periods of our hiſtory, that our liberties, ſince their eſtabliſhment, ſuffered any ſacrifices, and in Henry the Seventh and Cromwell experienced a Sylla and Cæſar. What we gained by unanimity, we loſt by diviſion. Two bloody civil wars paved the way for the loſs of Engliſh liberty, as they did for that of the Roman: But what was but a temporary loſs of it in England, was at Rome permanent, and that for the obvious reaſons already urged; the Conſtitution of England had ſtamina to enable it to recover the loſs, that of Rome had not; what Rome loſt was fictitious and imaginary, what England, real and ſubſtantial.

As there never was, at any period, any balance in the Roman ſtate, and for want of an intermediate third power, to conciliate the perpetual contentions between the Senate and people, it was always agitated and convulſed, in the irreconcilable extremes of their animoſities: The people's only reſource, in ſuch exigencies, was recourſe to ſome am-

bitious leader, who, if he had power ſufficient to protect them againſt the encroachments of the Senate, had enough alſo, and never wanted inclination to become, inſtead of its protector, its maſter. This expedient has proved the ruin of many ſtates in Greece and Italy, both in ancient and modern times. The Senate's only remedy was the conſtant employment of the people in war. In the adoption of that expedient of ſelf-preſervation, it was conſtrained to ravage the earth, till it had ſubjected ſo many nations, as that their ſubjection became a load and oppreſſion to itſelf; and when no more remained for its further dominion, it found it had only by ſuch policy, procraſtinated its diſſolution, together with that of the State.

This was the only nation we know of in hiſtory, that improved its finances in war. The richer the triumphs were, the more glorious. By the ſpoils of one war it was enabled to undertake another, and to go in queſt of new empires, as the old were thus diſabled to renew the conflict. This policy, with the maxim, *divide et impera*, were the chief means employed in the ſubjection of the univerſe. The ſpoils in war, and preſents in peace, were the great ſources of its wealth, the funds employed for the enſlaving of mankind; and what of the riches

of the world eſcaped public plunder, private rapine did not ſpare.

NOT to purſue the abandoned and profligate detail of affairs under the Emperors, it may once for all be obſerved, that, according to Tacitus, *eadem nomina, eadem vocabula erant*, in the decline of the Empire, as in the flouriſhing periods of the Republic; but the government was the model of the Turkiſh; what the Prætorian bands were in the Roman, the Janizaries are in the other; and to the Prefects of thoſe bands, anſwer the Grand Viſiers. When Auguſtus framed laws againſt celibacy, it was a ſtriking proof of the decline and depopulation of the State. Have not we in a ſimilar ſituation, recourſe to ſimilar expedients?

As oppoſite as England is to ancient Rome in her government, as oppoſite as a Repreſentative Conſtitution is to a popular, not leſs ſo is ſhe in her laws, and the execution of them. Not like other nations of Europe, who have borrowed a code of laws, ſuch as they found it, tranſplanted it into their different ſtates, the growth of an age, and a people ſo diſtant and different, England, without any aid from antiquity, formed one adapted to her own people, their genius and conſtitution. Unlike them, did ſhe receive the feudal laws, engrafted on the ruins of the

Empire, ſhe all at once, they by degrees—ſhe by a ſudden influx, they deliberately and progreſſively: To which ſyſtem of things, is owing fundamentally, the wide difference in her conſtitution from theirs. They, on the other hand, have adopted the Roman laws, in the ſame manner as ſhe did the feudal; but ſhe, unlike them, has rejected the civil laws altogether, as too arbitrary in their principles, and inconſiſtent with that liberty, ſhe ſo fortunately had acquired. To the rejection of the government and laws of ancient Rome, ſhe owes the exiſtence and preſervation of her civil liberty; to the renunciation of the religion of modern Rome, ſhe attributes her religious liberties, and with them a confirmation of her civil. When the Biſhops of that Church, early in our hiſtory, on the queſtion of legitimation, propoſed the introduction of the civil law into theſe realms, the Barons, with one voice cried out, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* It is confined to Doctor's Commons, the Eccleſiaſtical and Admiralty Courts, with the Univerſities, under the control of the law of the land.

Here again the ſtriking difference meets us, not only between England and the continent of Europe, but between it and Scotland, which has adopted the civil law.

Not a greater contraſt is there in the laws of England and Rome, than in the mode of executing them. The torture, ſo prevalent on the continent, and ſometimes formerly reſorted to in Scotland, never found its entrance into England. The trial by jury formerly known in the reſt of Europe, now loſt, is only retained here. The want of the one, and retention of the other, more than amply compenſate any trivial defects in the Engliſh code, which is ſtill but in its firſt ſtage of improvement. As often as the judges were found guilty of a breach of duty, the Legiſlature, with that vigilance it has ever been diſtinguiſhed for, invariably interfered to correct the abuſes. The Parliamentary hiſtory enumerates all the inſtances of the puniſhment of the judges for malverſation in office; nor are they frequent in compariſon of the length of time included. I paſs over the ſhort interval of the bloody reign of Mary, which cannot impeach the general rule, when the cruelties exerciſed were too violent to laſt. It was then, if ever, that in this nation, the public judgments reſembled thoſe of Rome; when it endured the joint loſs of both its civil and religious liberties, when, as in ancient Rome, the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion Courts threw the judicial power into the ſame maſs with the executive, and the legiſlative was more ſeparated in appearance, than in reality, and, in

fact, all three were centered in one; when, as in modern Rome, the object of the tyranny was to subject England to the Papal yoke.

As justice is faithfully and impartially distributed, so is it to be executed in mercy: The British Kings are so bound in their coronation oaths, in the express compact entered into between them and the people at the Revolution. Nor are there any temptations or peculiar exemptions, that might induce the Legislature to relax in the vigilance of its control over the executive and judicial powers in the distribution of justice.

In civil cases the persons of Commoners are free from arrest, during the sitting of Parliament, forty days before, and forty after the session, that they may the better attend to their duty; but their effects are liable to execution. In criminal affairs, and breaches of the peace, there is no protection for their persons at any time. The difference in the privileges of the Peers lies in the personal protection they enjoy at all times in civil questions.

To close the comparative view between the representative and popular constitutions, and at once exhibit the striking contrast, we need but attend to the wide difference in the duration of the two:

The repreſentative not only ſo far ſurpaſſing the other in continuance, but continually advancing from ſtrength to ſtrength, every revolution tending in a progreſſive ſeries to its perfection, with a few exceptions occaſioned by the fluctuations and convulſions incident to human affairs in the wreck of time, from which recovering it with redoubled efforts applied itſelf to the correction of the paſt, and prevention of the ſame, or ſimilar errors, in future: It fell but to riſe again with renewed luſtre. The concluſion to be drawn from this remark is, that its principles being good, were productive of its uniform refinement, up to what Lord Verulam would ſtyle its preſent vantage ground. When we look to the reverſe of this, the popular government, contemplate its ſhort exiſtence, the conſtant ſacrifices of law, liberty, peace and order, it was ſubjected to, and theſe evils increaſing in proportion to its duration, every revolution giving additional force to them, the change from the Regal to the Conſular ſtate, having been from one to more abſolute maſters, with the ſhadow of freedom only, the ſubſtance loſt, and at length a relapſe under the dominion of one as at firſt, with this difference only, an aggravation of the ſervile yoke; that government that was by turns Monarchical, Ariſtocratical and Democratical, and not all three all at once duly mixed, and harmoniouſly blended,

found true liberty in none; it neceſſarily follows, that, as it was radically ill conſtituted, the ſeeds of corruption lurking in it, matured by time, naturally produced the effects deſcribed.

Let us now contraſt the Engliſh conſtitution with that of the moſt diſtinguiſhed modern republic. The civil as well as the religious eſtabliſhment of Holland, bears a great reſemblance to that of Scotland. It is called Ariſto-Democratic; but the Ariſtocracy prevails. The borough conſtitution of Scotland, and that of the United States, ſeem to be founded on the ſame principles, the freemen or burgeſſes in both countries electing the Council or Regence; and they returning their reſpective members to Parliament, and deputies to the States-General. The number too of the repreſentatives are nearly the ſame in both countries, bearing no proportion to the body of the people. Nor are they the immediate repreſentatives of the people, as in England, the people have not the direct chuſing of them, only ultimately through the medium of their ſeveral magiſtracies. The equilibrium ſo loſt between the Ariſtocratic and Democratic branches of legiſlation, is not better preſerved between them and the executive. The Stadtholder, till of late years, was not hereditary; and now, that he is ſo, may be ſcarcely ſaid to form a diſtinct branch in

the conſtitution, rather the head and preſiding integrant magiſtrate in the deliberations of the States-General. What executive power is lodged in him is merely to give effect to the ordinances of that aſſembly, under its direction. Our order of legiſlation is, in that republic, completely inverted; it there originating in the leaſt numerous, moſt Ariſtocratic Aſſembly, the States-General, thence deſcending and diffuſing itſelf into the various branches of the greater, more Democratic provincial aſſemblies. Which arrangement has this additional diſadvantage of clogging the wheels of government, retarding and obſtructing its operations.

The want of a third mediating diſtinct power, joined with the intriguing factions of a neighbouring court, is a leading cauſe of the preſent contentions. The other two, the Ariſtocratic and Democratic, without ſuch a balance, fluctuating between the extremes of anarchy and ſedition, degenerating into every kind of diſorder and licentiouſneſs, the union broken and diſſolved, affairs are come to a criſis. Secret influence, political intrigue and cabal, have their full force in ſuch a conſtitution. In the conflict of contending parties, what ſhadow of power was in the Stadtholder, he is, at preſent, ſtripped of, and in a manner exiled in his own territories. The fortune may

await the Houſe of Orange, that befel that moſt unhappy family it was connected with, and whoſe forfeited rights it ſucceeded to in theſe realms by one revolution, nearly at the ſame point of time in the laſt century, with this day in the preſent, when, by another, it is threatened with the loſs of its own at home, and both uſhered in by abdications, ſince the retreat from the Hague was not unlike that from London. The openings of the tragedies of both families are but too ſimilar. Holland up in arms, affords no other proſpect than a bloody termination of its troubles.

Such defects in the legiſlative and executive powers, joined with that capital one in the judicial, the want of the trial by jury, in addition to the reſtrictions on the liberty of the preſs, are but unfavourable ſymptoms of Dutch liberty. And ſuch, or nearly ſuch, is the ſtate of all the republics on the continent termed free, but which are but different modifications of Ariſtocracies, and for want of the due equilibrium of the three powers, for having but an imperfect repreſentation, are nearly in the predicament of the ancient republics, that had no repreſentation at all, more amuſed with the appearance, than bleſſed with the reality of freedom.

The king of Britain, if he would be a great, ſhould be a patriot king, reigning over the hearts of his people, father of his people, a crowned citizen, diffuſing the virtues of a Trajan or Veſpaſian around his throne, cultivating and cheriſhing them as the faireſt gems of his diadem, the brighteſt ornaments of his ſceptre. He is to liſten to the voice of the people, as to the voice of God; to conſider their ſafety as the ſupreme law. The Britiſh Monarch, within the due bounds of law, is more powerful than any other without them. It is the law that conſtitutes the very great power we have ſeen him poſſeſſed of; and to that law, that gives it him, he may ſafely entruſt the protection of it, as its beſt and ſureſt ſafeguard. Not on ſtanding armies could he procure thoſe inſtruments of all abſolute dominion, is he to rely for ſupport, for they will fail him, as they have done his predeceſſors, but on the loyalty and affection of his ſubjects. The mutual checks and controls of the two leading branches of the legiſlature on each other, when left to themſelves, will ſecure him the third, in the free exerciſe and enjoyment of his juſt and legal prerogatives. The vigilance of the Commons, on the one hand, that does not ſuffer the interference of the Lords in their money bills, to amend them, but inſiſts on their acceptance or rejection of them *in toto;* on the other

hand, the jealouſy of the Peers, that will not conſider any bill tranſmitted to them, tacked to a money bill, are chiefly productive of that exact equilibrium in the legiſlation, that prevents the exertion of the negative of the third conſtituent part of it, the executive power; of which there has not been an inſtance in this century.

THESE counterpoiſes, formed by the different branches of the legiſlature to each other, receive additional ſtrength from the ſuperintendence of the people, in its collective capacity, over all the three. Beſides the great controlling power it is periodically poſſeſſed of, over its repreſentatives, to the extent we have ſeen, it is veſted at all times with checks over the three parts of the legiſlature, in virtue of the judicial and cenſorial powers ariſing to it from the trial by jury, and the liberty of the preſs. Hence this admirable frame of government is as much a democracy as is conſiſtent with liberty. In theſe ineſtimable privileges, the Britiſh nation is diſtinguiſhed from all others; from both the ancient and modern Rome, and Venice, in the liberty of the preſs; from the ancient in the trial by jury, from the modern in its retention of it, after its diſappearance from among them, if ever they were poſſeſſed of it in the ſame purity. Hence thoſe violent remedies in the ſtates, whe-

ther of a monarchical or republican form, applied to their radical defects, have ever been unknown in Britain. In Rome it was a Dictator, or Consul vested with Dictatorial powers, that was so frequently resorted to; in Venice, the State Inquisition; in France it is the lettres de cachet, those secret and dark imprisonments. But in Britain, the constant and uniform tenor of the laws is fully equal to all the functions of government, without any resort to such desperate expedients. There is no instance of any encroachments on the power of the Crown, during any of the minorities, the favourable opportunities, that have so invariably been seized on in other countries, for the execution of such enterprises. At the Revolution, when, by the abdication of the Prince, a convention of the two estates assembled in Parliament declared the throne vacant, not one member in either entertained the most distant idea of filling it, or retrenching from its future possessor any other than the unlawful prerogatives, that so recently had been usurped, or violating the succession any more than the extreme necessity they were reduced to justified.

There is a line drawn between prerogative and privilege, on either side of which encroachments from the opposite, must infallibly destroy the balance

of our admirable conſtitution. If the executive power, entruſted with its negative on the paſſing of laws, with ſo many and ſo great privileges, ſhould be enabled to exerciſe them by means of ſupplies raiſed independent of Parliament, it from that moment would be enabled to govern without it, and ſo rendered abſolute. If again Parliament ſhould aſſemble, and continue to ſit by its own authority, uſurp from the Crown its power of calling together, proroguing, and diſſolving it, then the repreſentatives of the people would become independent of, and unaccountable to them, and in their turn their abſolute maſters. They were the mutual tranſgreſſions of this fixed boundary, firſt by the Crown in its attempt to govern without Parliaments; then by Parliament, in depriving the Crown of the power of proroguing, or diſſolving it, and aſſuming it to itſelf, both attempts alike producing the ſame effect, the confuſion of the legiſlative and executive powers, that occaſioned the fall of Charles I. and with him of the conſtitution. This is not all; for the further ſecurity of the preſervation of the equipoiſe, it is neceſſary that the executive power ſhould be one and entire, that the ſource from whence it derives the ſupplies requiſite to the ſupport of its dignity, and the exigencies of the ſtate, ſhould be one alſo, the branch of the legiſlature conſtituted by the repreſentatives of the people. If ever the other le-

giſlative body ſhould acquire a ſhare in this important right, as it once made an effort to do, ſoon after the Revolution, then the Crown will avail itſelf of the maxim, *divide et impera*, by oppoſing the one to the other, will weaken the reſiſtance of each to its views, and inſtead of it, ſubſtitute a zeal and emulation for its ſervice. What are now the free grants of the Commons, would then reſemble the dons gratuits of the Church, and provincial eſtates of France.

Remarkable inſtances of the very late improvements made on the conſtitution are, the office of judge rendered independent of the ſucceſſor's pleaſure, on the demiſe of the King. Grenville's law, on the model of ſpecial juries, for the trial of controverted elections. There was an attempt to ſupport this excellent inſtitution by the bill brought into Parliament laſt ſeſſion, enacting the regiſtration of freeholds, and conſtituting returning officers, official and miniſterial, inſtead of judicial, improvements borrowed from the election laws of Scotland, and propoſed to be engrafted on thoſe of England, by which long ſcrutinies, and ſuch tedious proceedings, as were before the Glouceſter committee, would have been moſt effectually obviated. The bill, after paſſing the Lower Houſe, was thrown out on the third reading, in the Upper, to be re-

ſumed, it is hoped with better ſucceſs. The ſuppreſſion of general warrants, among the laſt, was none of the leaſt advantages derived to liberty.

CONSTITUTIONAL liberty thus ſecured, privilege ſo fortified by outworks ſo impregnable to all open and violent attacks of prerogative, have nothing to fear from that quarter, in ſuch attempts. It is not by ſtorm, or battering engines, that a breach is to be effected in ſuch a fortreſs: It is by other means, by means of ſtratagem, by approaches the moſt regular, in proceeding by ſap, in a metaphorical ſenſe, in a literal, by ſecret and undue influence, that an impreſſion is to be made on it. To ſuch methods of attack, the degeneracy of the times inſures but too great ſucceſs; and to ſuch an event, in the conception of a modern profound political writer, things are faſt tending.

SUCH is the aſylum, ſuch the happy retreat, that Liberty, the nurſe of noble minds, that propoſe to themſelves noble ends, attainable only by noble means, has found in the ſequeſtered receſſes of this her favoured Iſle. Long wandering in queſt of refuge, ſhe ſeemed a while propitiouſly inclined to Greece and Rome. Thoſe ſtates enamoured of her rites, yet to her rites eſtranged, were not in her myſteries initiated. Scarce ſhewn to them, her

form eclipſed, her footſteps darkly traced, averſe to the ſacrifices that ſtained the altars raiſed to her, like Aſtræa, ſhe left the earth, not to reviſit it but in this fortunate region; where her worſhip was but faintly ſeen, by the Sages of her ancient fruitleſs votaries, through the thick clouds and hovering miſts of that long Gothic night that intervened. Let us hear what Cicero ſays, "Statuo eſſe optime conſti-"tutam rempublicam ex tribus generibus illis, rega-"li, optimo et populari, modicâ conſuſâ." Fragm. de Rep. l. 2. To the ſame effect, Polybius, lib. 6. ch. 1. in beginning. And Tacitus, Ann. lib. 4. c. 33. "Cunctas nationes, et urbes, populus aut priores, "aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his et conſtituta "Reipublicæ forma laudari facilius, quam evenire; "vel ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe proteſt."

Both authors confine their ideas to the mixture of the three forms of government, which Rome, at different periods, paſſed through ſeparately, from the higheſt to the loweſt; but neither of them had any conception of that peculiarity in ours, the repreſentatives of the people. Not only that, but Tacitus treated even ſuch a mixed conſtitution as merely viſionary, more conſonant to theory than practice; and if practicable, not capable of long duration; both which conjectures, that of this iſland, proves to have been erroneous. But the errors are

not ſurpriſing; the ſurpriſe would have been, if a Cicero or a Tacitus, the moſt profound philoſopher, or politician ſpeculating in retirement, could in theory have deviſed the exact model, as it is to-day diſplayed, of the Engliſh conſtitution.

It was no ſpeculation that formed it; it owes its exiſtence to the inſular ſituation, joined with that ſingular train of circumſtances, that the attempt has been made to unfold. So framed, ſo founded on a rock, it has ſtood the teſt of a multiplicity and variety of revolutions, the wiſdom and virtuous patriotiſm of ages have conſpired to complete and perfect the work. Long as its duration has been, long ſtill may it be, if, unlike all other political inſtitutions that are, or have been, it is probable it does not contain in it thoſe ſeeds of corruption, inherent in them, that effected their diſſolution. Still, as abſolute perfection is not the lot of humanity, and all ſublunary things are ſubject to change, perpetuity cannot be pronounced of the work of liberty; and it may be threatened with dangers from within and from without, not but what, in the preſent ſyſtem of things, the moſt imminent ſeem to be from without.

This is the firſt, the only retreat, Liberty has ſecured to herſelf: In this Atlantic iſle, amid its oaks, the ſeat of the old Bards and Druids, is her temple

raiſed. Long chooſing, late deigning to viſit the habitations of men, after in vain roaming the Continent, in the midſt of the ocean, bounteous nature round circling her retreat, ſhe has marked a people for her own. If violated in this her firſt, ſo the her laſt ſanctuary on earth, where ſhe ſhould rather be cheriſhed by thoſe without, as by thoſe within ſtill is the danger from thoſe without, whoſe envy and jealouſy of this iſle, together with her its genius are ever watchful to force her hence, never to return to the dwellings of men.

GOVERNMENT.

HOW Britain came to be in its preſent critical ſituation, and how ſhe may beſt recover from it, is the object of what remains to be offered to the candid and patriotic public; for nothing but true patriotiſm diffuſed through all ranks, animating the whole body of the people, can ſave the nation; and if this appeal to it, may have the effect to rouſe into a flame, the love of our country, revive the old ſpirit of Liberty, the great object of the Author's ambition is accompliſhed.

THE remaining enquiry reſolves itſelf into four branches, the government—the relative ſtate of the finances—of the reſources of the rival nations—and reform.

THE ſtate machine is far too complicated and unwieldy. Singularly excellent as is its internal frame and conſtitution, fine as is its mechaniſm, the

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harmony and ſymmetry of the ſeveral componet parts; yet it was calculated for the Britiſh merid an, the Britiſh Iſles, for a kingdom, not an empire not meant to comprehend within the ſphere of i action at once, the extremes of the torrid an the frigid zones, the tropical countries, and tho within the polar circles: The ſprings, ſtretched be yond their natural tone to exert their influenc force their active principles at ſuch diſtances, and i ſuch oppoſite directions, are relaxed, the action and re-action of the correſponding parts is deſtroy ed.

If the Roman government was too weak for the eſtabliſhment of order, within the walls of Rome itſelf, it was ſtill more ſo for the extenſion of it to the utmoſt verge of the limits of Italy, and moſt of all to that of the remote provinces. For what was the ſtate of the neareſt, even Sicily, under Verres? If the feeble arm of juſtice could not reach ſo far to puniſh his barbarities; if it could not prevent Italy from being driven to deſpair and diſtraction, on account of the horrible outrages, the proſtitution, briberies committed in the public judgments, and revolting againſt them in the Social war, how little, and how faint muſt have been its influence in Aſia, at the time of that dreadful maſſacre, unparallelled in hiſtory? The beſt modelled conſtitution on earth,

the Britiſh, has its ſphere of action preſcribed to it, exerted beyond which, its powers and ſprings are relaxed in their tone and energy. But it has paſſed the bounds allotted it by nature, traverſed regions and climes in the old world, where never flew the Roman Eagle, and added to its dominion half the new.

WERE Britain to be more tenacious of her claims to maritime dominion, and leſs ambitious of extending her territorial poſſeſſions, the true line of her political intereſts would then be purſued. They are her Continental connections, whether on this, or on the other ſide of the Atlantic, that are haſtening her decline. The body is far too big for the head, which Bacon conſiders as a totally incurable diſeaſe, in the body politic. At a time, when every poſſible ſource of depopulation, from the rapid increaſe of luxury, prevails in the mother country, the plantation of diſtant and extenſive colonies, is a moſt ruinous ſyſtem of politics, to have been betrayed into. It is no other ſyſtem of politics, no other line of meaſures, that has plunged us into our preſent involved, perplexed, embarraſſed ſtate of affairs. In vain are we to date our misfortunes, from the repeal of the Stamp, or paſſing of the Tea Acts: Theſe operate but as the ſecondary cauſes of this our labyrinth of difficulties. The primary cauſe,

and without which, the ſecondary could have had no effect, is to be traced to a period more diſtant than either, to the impolitic peace of 1763. In that peace was laid the foundation of the late diſaſtrous war. What a fatal error it was, to have entered into the negotiation, the putting the retention of Canada and the Floridas in competition with that of the French and Spaniſh Weſt India iſlands! There, and there only, was the infatuation of our treaty, equal to the good conduct of our arms that gave riſe to it. It was for that reaſon, that our misfortunes in the peace were but too much proportioned to our ſucceſs in the war. The Roman Empire was of far too enormous a growth, which brought on its diſſolution. It was in the remote provinces, the firſt ſymptoms of decay appeared, and every convulſion there, ſhook the whole fabric. Was not that the ſituation of Great Britain in the American war? The unparallelled ſucceſſes of our arms in the preceding war enabled us to have retained the valuable Weſt India ſugar-iſlands; inſtead of immenſe tracts of uninhabited continent, the peopling of which is daily draining the mother-country of inhabitants, the ſupport of which ſerves to exhauſt her treaſures. The produce of the French colony of St Domingo, is ſaid to be greater than that of all the Engliſh ſugar colonies, for which the only market was Great Britain and her

colonies. But we were grossly duped out of our real interests—we were made the bubbles of a party. Had we prudently availed ourselves of that glorious opportunity, we were masters of the whole sugar-trade, at the same time that our people, the true riches of a nation, the sinews of war, were kept at home to occupy our ample internal waste lands. The strange reverse now is, that we have but sugar enough to supply ourselves with, are peopling extensive foreign tracts of barren country, of which description we have but too much within the island; have every where planted distant colonies, no sooner formed than rebellious, and for curbing and reducing them to subjection, have been keeping up ruinous and expensive garrisons, levying and supporting great native and mercenary armies. Those colonies, which we planted and reared to their present maturity, at a great expence of treasure, we long protected from our joint hereditary enemies, at a great expence of both blood and treasure. When they were called upon, by every tie of justice and gratitude, to bear their proportion in the expence, and that too, in the extreme of moderation, the return they make, is, that it is enough that they have shed their blood in their own quarrel, it is not for them to share with their protectors in the money expended in it: And, rather than share in it, they have recourse to rebellion, in rebellion claim independence,

in ſupport of their independence, fly for ſuccour to thoſe very enemies, from whom they ſo lately fled to us for protection.

It is over the ſea and iſlands, that have the moſt immediate connection with it, that Britain ſhould extend her dominion, if ſhe ſtands in need of ſtill further extent. Theſe ſhould be the ſources of both her riches and her laurels. The climate, ſoil, government, and ſituation of Great Britain, are all favourable to commerce: In the two former reſpects, ſhe is equalled, if not excelled, by many nations, in the latter by none. Her ſituation, ſo long as ſhe remains miſtreſs of the ſeas, no leſs than that ſpirit of freedom her conſtitution breathes, entitles her to hold the firſt rank among commercial nations.

The government of the Eaſt Indies reſembles more that of the Roman provinces, than of Britain, is more Pro-Conſular; owing to the freedom and mildneſs of the Britiſh not being able to extend its influence ſo far. To ſuch a height had riſen the enormity of the flagrant abuſes, and perverſions of juſtice there, ſuch was the rapine and plunder committed, as loudly called for the interpoſition of the Legiſlature to ſtop their progreſs. With that view, it firſt ſent out the Judges, who, proving unequal to

the work of reform, the next remedy reſorted to, was the India Bill, that diſpenſes with the trial by jury, and erects the Board of Control over the Board of Directors.

The admirable author of the Conſtitution of England, expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: "The "fineſt government on earth, or rather that which "has been founded on principles the moſt conſo-"nant to human nature, was in danger of total "deſtruction, when Bartholomew Columbus was "on his paſſage to England, to teach Henry VII. "the way to Mexico and Peru." The conjecture is juſt, as the Kings of England would, in that event, have had inexhauſtible ſources of wealth to draw their ſupplies from, independent of the Britiſh Commons, which would have enabled them to govern without Parliaments, to the ruin of the nation and its liberty. And here lies a great danger to all free ſtates in the acquiſition of foreign territories. They are oftener drains, than ſources of wealth, as they are the never failing ſources of wars, wars the ruin of public credit; they require great armies for their defence, they conſtitute an *imperium in imperio*, that ſolecism in politics, increaſe the influence of the Crown, in the numerous appointments of officers, placemen, and dependents, they ſtrengthen its power in the frequency of appeals

from them to the King in Council. In all theſe reſpects they may effect a change in the conſtitution, as well as when they are ſources of wealth: And if in this laſt reſpect it ſo narrowly eſcaped the dangers attending the poſſeſſion of South America, it only did ſo to incur, in all the others, the loſſes conſequent on its eſtabliſhments in North America. Happy had it been for Britain to have been taught the way to neither.

The bloody and tragic ſcene is now cloſed, and now at length, after all our fruitleſs endeavours to retain them in ſubjection, we find ourſelves ſtript of thirteen colonies, reduced to the neceſſity of declaring their independence, and on theſe humiliating terms, of accepting their offers of peace. Nor would peace have been ſo dearly bought at the expence of their independence, had it not been for the additional load of about a hundred and fifty millions Sterling of debt, and a proportional waſte of blood, all in conſequence of the infatuated ſtruggle for their ſubjection. Nor is even that immenſe debt the total amount of that incurred by us for them: For they are the ſources to which we are to trace the whole of our enormous debt, with the exception only of what was contracted in K. William's wars, for the balance of power, and that waged by his ſucceſſor for the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, in all, amounting to

fifty-five millions. For of all our other wars ſince theſe periods, it is to our colonies we are to aſcribe the riſe. And the fruits of all our wars are debts, which amounted to two hundred and fifty-ſeven millions at midſummer 1783, and which, after the winding up of the war, and the deficiencies of the taxes are funded, will riſe to two hundred and ſeventy-two millions, allowing for all the millions paid off during the intervals of peace. The accuracy of theſe calculations is not anſwered for, nor is it ſo material, as any errors in them will make but the odds of a few millions more or leſs.

WHAT then have been the advantages reaped from theſe eſtabliſhments, to counterbalance ſuch aſtoniſhing diſadvantages? Will it be ſaid that the riches flowing from our trade with them, have proved the means of our waſte lands being cultivated, our arts and manufactures encouraged and promoted? But what riches has it contributed to equal to the debt it leaves behind, in conſequence of the repeated, long and obſtinate wars entered into for the protection of that trade? Our people too have been carried away to our continental ſettlements, our people that would have moſt contributed to the cultivation of the waſte lands of this iſland. This miſconduct would have been obviated, if our connections had been altogether with the iſlands,

and fiſhing banks at home and abroad; at the ſame time that our agriculture, arts and manufactures would have received additional increaſe, our nurſeries for ſeamen additional improvements. Nor in that event would our cultivated lands have borne ſuch a diſproportion to the uncultivated, as at preſent they do, only a fourth in Scotland, and three-fourths in England.

Our firſt ſettlement on the continent of America was coëval with the union of the two Crowns. It was then that Virginia, ſo called from being a virgin colony, was firſt planted with ſucceſs, on a renewal of the attempt made towards it, that had failed in the preceding reign. Happy had it been for Britain, if the beginning then given to her empire there, and every ſubſequent endeavour made towards its extenſion, had proved as abortive, as it had done in Q. Elizabeth's reign.

Nor is the period very remote, when what remains to us of our provinces on the continent, with perhaps our iſlands, and other dependencies there, muſt, in the inevitable courſe of things, be involved in the ſame fate with thoſe that have already left us. But from that fatality that ever has attended our meaſures, from that ſtate of intoxication, in which we have been ſo long lulled ſecure, from that

delirium by which we have conſtantly ſuffered ourſelves to be carried away, and out of which we have not yet recovered; ſtill uninfluenced as we are by paſt experience, unawed and uninſtructed by recent example, without reflection on former miſconduct, we cannot look on theſe our remaining dependencies in any other light, than as connected with us by the moſt indiſſoluble ties, the moſt laſting bonds of union.

We ſhould not have adopted the colonizing ſyſtem, till reduced to it in the ſuperabundance of our population, after the example of the Greeks and Romans, and then the independent plan of the Grecian αποικιαι, was preferable to that of the dependent *coloniæ* or plantations of Rome. With the loſs of her free trade with the old world, Britain has loſt much more than ſhe has gained by the mercantile monopolizing one to the new. The firſt was a natural invigorating trade, the other conſtrained and enervating. The capitals diverted from the various channels opened by the one, were much abſorbed in the engroſſing branch ſubſtituted in their room: The returns, diſproportionate to the capitals conſumed, diminiſhed, ſlow and uncertain. The effect of the change was a waſting carrying, inſtead of a direct circuitous trade.

To this detail, may be added the barbarifm of the flave trade, which, from the ravages made by it in the human fpecies, muft foon exhauft itfelf. It is computed, that that inhuman traffic cofts Africa annually about fixty thoufand negroes, of which number the Englifh take 40,000, the French 12,000, the Dutch 6000, the Portuguefe not 4000, the Spaniards and Danes, though they have eftablifhments in Africa, fcarcely appear more in thofe markets. Thefe annual drains have depopulated the fhores, rendered the coafts a defert; and there being no fupply without penetrating hundreds of miles into the interior parts of the country, that unnatural commerce feems to be threatened with inevitable diffolution. And well it were for the caufe of humanity, of Chriftianity, it was diffolved. Added to the train of all the other expences attending colonies, may enter into the calculation the expence of humanity. It is for a nation that has fo long diftinguifhed itfelf for the glory of letters, of arms, for commerce, riches, power, now to diftinguifh itfelf for that virtue, ornamental of nations, as of individuals.

If ever the great Montefquieu had reafon on his fide, it is where he combats all the arguments adduced by writers in fupport of flavery: Nor is he, any where elfe, than on that topic, difpofed to in-

dulge in irony, to which he is ultimately reduced, finding all ſerious reaſoning, in aid of ſuch a depraved ſyſtem of policy, altogether vain and fruitleſs.

It was in the 1638, that the firſt American built veſſel appeared in the Thames. In conſequence of the civil wars of that time, the whole of our trade with the colonies was carried on in New England ſhips. The act of navigation confirmed the right to them, and ordained, that all New England built ſhips ſhould be deemed Britiſh. Sir Joſiah Child firſt, and afterwards Dr D'Avenant, diſcerned the fatal conſequences of ſuch a meaſure to the mother country. In encouraging the navigation, the marine of the colonies, a drain was opened for her artificers, which would be felt in times of war, and the foundation laid for their independence. The event has but too much verified the prediction; and how could it be otherwiſe, when patriots were then as little liſtened to as now?

Since then, all the effects of this narrow monopolizing ſyſtem of American commerce, have been to entail on this country, all the burdens of ſupport in peace, and defence in war, to ſhare in the profits of it with other nations, the ſooner American independence was effected the better; and what is to be regretted in it, are the violences it occaſioned,

and the load of debt it has left behind. With all these disadvantages, it has prevented the translation of the seat of empire from this island across the Atlantic, as of old, from Rome to Constantinople, and similar consequences.

It enters into the plan of this work, and more particularly this branch of it, to view the various continental and insular connections formed by Britain in its divided or united state, on this and the other side of the Atlantic, the wars they have occasioned, the maintenance of the balance of power, the treaties and alliances that led to and resulted from them. In this external or foreign policy of the kingdom, we shall in general find a great deficiency of that wisdom and sagacity so remarkably displayed in its internal and domestic œconomy.

We have seen the capital advantages flowing from the conquest, in paving the way for the early acquisition of English liberty, at a time when the rest of Europe was sunk in ignorance and abject slavery: But it was not without its disadvantages also, arising from the continental connections it entailed on this kingdom, with a continuance of them for centuries. The moment the Normans established themselves in England, all ties between it and Normandy, and its several domains and appanages, in true policy, should

have been diſſolved, as the retention of them was a conſtant ſource of a ſeries of ſucceſſive wars, the drains of its wealth and ſtrength. Since, however, it was otherwiſe ordered, and the relinquiſhing them could not be ſubmitted to, the ſame cauſes that contributed to the ſuperiority of the Engliſh conſtitution over the French, did ſo likewiſe to that of its arms; in enabling it ſo long, in ſpite of ſo many natural and local obſtacles, to retain them. It is chiefly owing to the united, compact, concentric ſtate of England, the diviſions of France, that in the frame of its government at home, and the fame of its arms abroad, the one country has enjoyed ſo great advantages over the other: Thoſe reaped from its conſtitutional freedom, were counterbalanced by the diſadvantages reſulting from its foreign territories; and the dates of the origin of our liberty, and the loſs of our Norman dominions under King John, correſpond. It would have been much for the intereſt of the nation, had the loſs of them been of equal duration with the gain of it, not temporary and preparatory only to their glorious recovery by our Edwards and our Henries, whoſe careers of victory were attended with the humiliating circumſtances to oure nemies, of a King of France priſoner in England, and a King of England crowned in France; and ſo far back laid the ſeeds of that rivalſhip and jealouſy between the two nations, that to this hour

ſubſiſt. In the midſt of theſe violent exertions, and memorable efforts for the preſervation of our continental territories, we were not unmindful of, nor unequal to the purſuit of our more real and permanent intereſts, the conqueſts of Ireland and Wales; the one formed by nature as a conſtituent part of this iſland, the other iſland, from the ſame ſource, connected with it by all the ties of ſound policy, and firmeſt bond of union. At length, the diviſions and conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter taking place of thoſe in France, and its union of ours, the combination of theſe circumſtances reciprocally co-operated to wreſt from us finally our dominions there.

The period that elapſed between the loſs of theſe, and the acquiſition of others acroſs the Atlantic, which comprehended the whole line of Tudor princes, was the only interval in our hiſtory, that, for any length of time, ſince the conqueſt to this day, we have been without continental connections. It was then too only for any continuance, (whatever temporary ſacrifices of them there may have been), we were without our civil liberties, when, to compenſate the loſs, we gained our religious. Long before the Reformation, great freedom of enquiry had prevailed with regard to the eſtabliſhed faith, that was productive of continual retrenchments of the

Papal power and authority, in the various ſtatutes of Premunire. The ſame ſpirit, with which ſo early and ſo ſucceſsfully, in this iſland, the political rights of men were vindicated, was ſoon transferred to the examination of their ſpiritual; it in the mean time led to the correction of the groſſer abuſes in the old form of worſhip, till a new and better appeared, which, on its firſt appearance, was readily embraced.

THE tranſition from the one to the other was eaſy, attended with no violence of effort; and any heſitation or fluctuating irreſolution between the two, that might have poſſeſſed the nation, was ſoon overcome, by the declaration of the King in favour of one; and the preference given by him to it was deciſive of the doubts, and at once determined the balance. Thus the Reformation, which laid the continent waſte with fire and ſword, in ſome parts received, in others rejected, was in this iſland of momentary deciſion. The ſame caprice that actuated the reigning Monarch in the courſe of this important event, influenced his political career on the Continent. Freed as he was from all the incumbrances attending the hereditary and acquired poſſeſſions there of his anceſtors, a ſingular coincidence of circumſtances put the balance of power in his hands. Removed from the theatre of war, a ſpec-

tator of the contests between the two rival houses of Austria and France, equally courted by both, he had only well to weigh the motives, that might induce him to incline the balance to either side; to consider the interests of the nation in the part he should act on the scene; and when he took his resolutions, to be determined in them, and interfere between the rivals decisively. The reverse of this conduct, alternately following the bent of his own capricious humour, led by the ambitious views of Wolsey on the See of Rome, he fluctuated between the two; the umbrage taken by one at his opposition to him not effaced, before a renewal of it by a sudden return to the same line of measures, and desertion of his interests.

He was the enemy of both at intervals, the cordial ally of neither: nor was he more decisive in his enmity to Francis, at the battle of Guinegate, or battle of the spurs, as it is called, (from the greater use made of them than the sword, and its being more a route than a fight), than in the alliance contracted with him, at that magnificent interview that took place between them at Calais, in which so much treasure was wasted in pomp, parade, and festivity, to so little purpose. In all these inconsistent proceedings, his own importance, and the national interests were little attended to.

But in his Daughter's reign, that bloody ſtain on the annals of the country, there was a total ſacrifice of every thing great and good. Her marriage with Philip the Second, was equally fatal to our civil and religious liberties: The latter, of recent adoption, not yet deeply rooted, were aſſailed from all quarters, with all the horrors of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. The ſcaffold ſtreamed—the ſtakes burned for their extirpation; and we are inclined to think we are reading the reign of a Nero, when peruſing that of this unnatural bigotted Princeſs. Her impolitic connection formed with Spain, laid the foundation of the dangers with which the kingdom was threatened under Elizabeth, from the ſame quarter; but which the ſuperior virtues and talents for government, that ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed that Princeſs, diſſipated on their firſt appearance. With the defeat of the Invincible Armada, as it was arrogantly ſtyled, vaniſhed all hoſtile attempts againſt the kingdom's independence, and the reformed religion reſtored to it.

Pushing further the great advantages derived from this glorious defence of her realms, ſhe, in her turn, attacked the power of the Spaniſh Monarchy, hitherto ſo formidable to Europe. She encouraged its revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, ſent them ſupplies of troops, and, for the further ſecurity of

their independence, thus powerfully ſupported, ſhe formed a triple alliance with England, them, and France, then governed by the greateſt Prince that ever filled its throne. The ſame was England's fate, as in no period of its hiſtory, were meaſures purſued that redounded more to its glory and proſperity, the ſame line of meaſures, that the Republic of Holland owed its liberty and independence to. It was left for a Britiſh Queen, happily for her ſubjects, to refuſe the Spaniſh Crown, then eſteemed the moſt powerful in Europe, which her bigotted ſiſter accepted—it was left for her, with the ſame policy and magnanimity, to reject the proffered ſovereignty of its revolted ſubjects, the Flemings.

We are now arrived at that period, the beginning of laſt century, at which is to be dated the origin of our colonies, and with them of all our miſfortunes; as from that time to this, near the ſpace of two centuries, have the eſtabliſhments on the American Continent, been continued drains of men and money to this exhauſted iſland. The attempt to eſtabliſh the colony of Virginia, that had proved abortive in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was in that of her ſucceſſor reſumed with ſucceſs.

The eſtabliſhment of the colonies of both England and France, had its origin nearly at the ſame

time, in two cotemporary reigns, Virginia in that of James the First, Canada in that of Henry the Fourth.

James's pacific diſpoſition carried his views no where elſe abroad.

His ſon's diſaſters at home, prevented alſo his attention to foreign operations. Before the breaking out of his troubles, he was engaged in ſome fruitleſs expeditions, for the relief of the diſtreſſed Huguenots of France. Fortune never ſmiled on this unhappy Prince in any enterpriſes, foreign or domeſtic.

During the Commonwealth, the national glory was well maintained; Holland and Spain, in their turns humbled—the valuable iſland of Jamaica added to our poſſeſſions. It is over iſlands that Britain, in the due eſtimation of her intereſts, ſhould have extended her dominion, when carried beyond the limits of her own. The Navigation Act, for the reaſons already urged, was the moſt impolitic meaſure of that æra.

After the Reſtoration, a line of meaſures was followed highly injurious to the national proſperity,

in the alliances contracted with France, and wars entered into with Holland.

But the Continental connections the Revolution was attended with, were still more detrimental; as with them began the fatal system of funding; a system, that, in momentary exertions, anticipates the wealth and strength of ages yet unborn; then too was the creation of a moneyed interest, with it the national debt. Nor from that time, have those ruinous connections, on either side of the Atlantic, ceased to divide and distract our attention from domestic improvements, to exhaust our finances, waste our strength in the constant succession of wars, they have been the fruitful sources of.

The House of Bourbon had now risen on the ruins of that of Austria—and it has been the fate of Europe for centuries past, to see its tranquillity disturbed by the ambitious views and projects of universal monarchy, entertained by these rival powers. It was now for Britain to enter the lists against the one, as she had formerly done with such success against the other, to preserve the balance between them and the other States. We have touched on the dexterous means used, the line of measures pursued, the favourable conjunctures seized on to accomplish the downfal of the first of these houses—to

curb the other; the means uſed, the effect produced, form a ſtriking contraſt.

Placed as we were in the ſame fortunate ſituation, that Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth were in, removed from the theatre of war, out of the ſcene of action, ſpectators of the ſtruggle for power, we all at once left our ſtrong hold, our inſular faſtneſs, plunged into all the broils and politics of the Continent, inſtead of ſeconds, became principals in the war: It was Britain's men, Britain's money, that chiefly fought the battles of Holland and Auſtria, though, of all the European powers, the leaſt concerned in them.

Whether ſhe ſhewed more prudence in the choice of the place where, and the manner how ſhe fought them, than in the quotas of men and money ſhe furniſhed to them, is not more doubtful.

Flanders, from the number of fortified places it every where abounds in, was the moſt diſadvantageous ground that France could have been oppoſed on: It was, as the political writers of the time called it, like taking the bull by the horns. Then, as to the conduct of the war, it was attended with many and ſignal victories, that redounded principally to the glory of the Britiſh arms, as they, of all

the allies, contributed moſt to them: And they were ſuch, as, in the firſt years of the war, were amply ſufficient to have ſecured a peace, in which all the objects of the war might have been fully provided for; and this was teſtified by the full and implicit declarations of Lewis XIV. at the conferences held in the year 1705 or 1706, to negotiate a treaty, the terms of which he left diſcretionary to the allies. More than that could not have been aſked by them at firſt, nor hoped for at laſt; their ſucceſſes more than gratified their moſt ſanguine expectations.

If, from the beginning, the intereſts of Britain were moſt of all ſacrificed, in furniſhing ſo much more than her due proportion of men and money to the common cauſe; from this ſtage of the war, they were ſtill more ſo, for the ſame reaſons, as ſhe had moſt at ſtake that was leaſt concerned: And now the reſt of the confederated powers, that were at firſt gainers in her loſs, became, in their turn, ſharers in it, as the great object of the confederacy was accompliſhed, and the common intereſts of all engaged in it, were made ſubſervient to thoſe of a few deſigning individuals. Nor was the ſucceſs of the allied arms, after this deſertion of the cauſe, and violation of the public faith, in any ſhape equal to what it had been before it.

The laurels reaped at Blenheim, Lisle, Ramillies, Malplaquet, were all previous to it. There is one remarkable fact mentioned by Swift, that puts this truth in a striking point of view; the current services, voted for one year of Britain's proportion of the expenditure, were seven millions, and the success of the campaign amounted to no more than the taking of one insignificant town, the loss or gain of which was in no degree decisive of the fortune of the war.

Such gross abuses in the administration of affairs, produced, at length, a change of men and measures;—the Whig party was turned out, with them the Duke of Marlborough, out of all his employments; the Tory came in, the Duke of Ormond was appointed to the command of the army. The change of ministry did not remedy the affairs of this country, or extricate it out of its difficulties. A great army was still kept on foot in Flanders, though allowed to remain inactive, and separate itself from the rest of the allies: Which separation so weakened them, as to occasion the disaster at Denain, where the troops covering the siege of Landrecy, under Lord Albemarle, were defeated in their entrenchments by Marshall Villars, and the defeat followed by the raising of the siege of the only place of strength

that remained, to ſtop the career to Paris of the combined forces under Prince Eugene; and which muſt have ſubmitted to ſo able a commander, had he been ſupported by the Britiſh troops. So that the laſt error committed, in not continuing the war longer, was perhaps worſe than that in continuing it ſo long, at leaſt the avoiding the laſt was the only remedy left for the firſt. The only alternatives for Britain in ſuch a dilemma were, either to have deſerted the alliance ſooner or later than ſhe did: But in embracing neither, the object of the war was totally fruſtrated and abandoned. The Spaniſh ſucceſſion was ſecured in the Houſe of Bourbon—the barrier on the ſide of Flanders, left too much territory to that power, and was too ineffectual a curb to it—and all the indemnification obtained to Britain by the peace of Utrecht, for a debt of fifty-five millions contracted, was the barren rock of Gibraltar, and Minorca in Europe, in America the addition of more territories to thoſe of too great extent, poſſeſſed by her there before; all which acquiſitions have only ſerved to increaſe that debt. In all our treaties of peace, whether after ſuccefsful or unſuccefsful wars, we have been made the dupes, in the wars too often the bubbles.

What our conduct was in this, is to be ſeen, painted in the trueſt and moſt lively colours, in the Tory writers of that time, Bolingbroke and Swift, at leaſt the errors of the Whig party; thoſe of their own, they either ſuppreſs or varniſh over. Nor need we heſitate to pronounce, after a ſerious inveſtigation of the conteſt at home and abroad, that our continental connections have been no leſs unfortunately formed, ruinouſly kept up on this than on the other ſide of the Atlantic.

The Emperor, whoſe mother, the Queen of Hungary, owed her elevation to Great Britain, that fought her battles, and, in fighting them, incurred ſo many millions of debt, impoſes the ſtricteſt prohibitions on the importation of Britiſh manufactures into his dominions. He is, beſides, employed in weakening the barrier we ſo heroically reared, ſo long guaranteed, a leading object in that ruinous war, and almoſt the ſole fruits reaped from it at the following peace. Britain, on the other hand, with the Houſes of Brandenbourg, Saxony and Sweden, has entered into the Germanic league, that is intended to overawe and control the Houſe of Auſtria, ſo long her ally, and the rival of that of Bourbon, with which a commercial treaty is concluded.

WHAT part the Dutch, the other member of the old alliance, took in the late conteſt with our colonies, is well known; the not only leaguing with them, but with their own as well as our hereditary enemies, from whom, at the period in view, they fled to us for protection, and obtained it, as they once ſo effectually did before, at the time of their throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and have ſince ſo repeatedly continued to do. In return for which uniform ſeries of ſupport, they firſt broke the ties of gratitude, the leaſt binding that connects ſtates, and thoſe more coërcive of intereſt—the faith of all our treaties and alliances—then combined with France and Spain to give that independence to our colonies, that they, through our means, chiefly, gained firſt from Spain, and afterwards maintained againſt France.

THE aſſiſtance afforded the revolted colonies by Spain, was contrary to its intereſts, if not ſo immediately, yet ultimately it muſt prove ſo, in paving the way to a like revolution, in the ſouthern continent of America, to that in the northern; finally too, all the iſlands muſt ſhare the fate of the continent.

THE exchange of the Floridas may retard ſuch a revolution, in forming a barrier between the

two powers that divide it, and more ſtrongly cementing the alliance between the three already formed: And while it proves the means of preventing the embroiling affairs between them, may rekindle the flames of war with us: That reſtleſs power once more getting footing on that continent, will diſturb the peace of it as before, when it had poſſeſſions there.

Such have been the fruits reaped towards the cloſe of the eighteenth century, from the alliances and connections formed by us in the beginning of it, as if fortune ſported with all the ſchemes of human policy; moſt of the allies acting in concert with the power that was the object of the confederacy, ſome of them lately at variance with each other, concerning the free navigation of the Scheldt and Indian ſeas. Ever extravagant has been the departure from the ſecurity and independence of our inſular ſituation, to plunge into all the broils and confuſions of the continent, which the almoſt uniform ſeries of our miſtaken politics has been ſo induſtrious to connect us with, as nature to detach us from.

The revolution in the new hemiſphere ſeems to be but the forerunner of others in the old: for, in the hiſtory of Europe, never were there ſo extenſive

combinations forming among its powers, as at this day present themselves, with a view to proportioned changes in the system of things. The centre and moving principle of all these political machinations is our jealous rival, and this country is the primary object she proposes to herself in them, and annexed to it she no doubt has her secondary. To the triple league, she has formed with her greatest neighbouring maritime powers, traversing the Baltic she has invited Sweden to accede. She is negotiating a treaty of commerce with Russia, and by her intrigues, it is feared, is retarding the completion of ours at that and other courts. If she should prove equally successful in her negotiations there, what a scene is opened to us in the event of a war! We shall probably have to encounter all Europe as avowed enemies, instead of one half of it, as in the late war, and the other half concealed ones. Should Russia prove an exception to the general confederacy, in consequence of our negotiations being attended with more success at that court, than those of our neighbours, still the balance must be greatly against us, from the distance of our northern allies, the Baltic's being frozen so great a part of the year, and necessarily retarding, if not obstructing all concerted operations between us and them. When that bar of nature is for a time removed, it is succeeded by all those we are exposed

to, from the intervention of the different branches of the formidable confederacy, who enjoy every advantage of local ſituation, that may enable them to intercept the ſtipulated mutual ſuccours. The ſeverity and length of the winters in thoſe latitudes equally check and retard the military operations by land. The French are in poſſeſſion of a naval arſenal at Gottenburgh, in a kingdom from whence we are ſupplied with great part of our naval ſtores; which eſtabliſhment, together with their alliances, furniſhes them with an opportunity of cutting up by the root the ſinews of our maritime greatneſs. It is already much endangered in the want of its former ſupply of the American ſhip-timber, and great additional conſumption of the home growth.

And what proſpect does that quarter afford, in reſpect of future alliances? In the event of an early rupture with our neighbours, while the wounds of our late conteſt with it are freſh in remembrance, it is to be feared, that, ſhould it ſhare in the quarrel, as too probably it will, the paſſions and prejudices will continue the ſame bias they have received: And there is the addition in the ſcale againſt us, of another quarter of the globe. How do the remaining two ſtand affected? Not amicably towards us, if French intrigues and political addreſs have already prevailed at the Porte in great meaſure to

the exclusion of our share of the Levant trade; and if our alliance with Russia should be cemented, it will have the effect to alienate us still more from the Ottoman Court. In this picture, let others determine whether exaggerated or not, there seems to threaten us, on the breaking out of a war, a general confederacy of the powers throughout the four quarters of the globe, at the instance of that which, in the war of 1756, suffered such accumulated losses at our hands, in all the four quarters. It was therefore not only wittily, but well said in the House of Commons, that we had but one enemy, and that was the world, and yet divided against ourselves. Nor did ever Britons more than now, answer the description given of them by the Roman poet, *Toto divisos orbe Britannos.*

It is not to Britain alone, I would wish to sound the alarm, but to the liberties of Europe, for involved in its liberties are those of the continent: Nothing short of universal monarchy can be the object of such universal combinations and alliances, the means only varied; nothing short of the renewal of that airy phantom, so long in vain sought after, first by the House of Austria, then by that of Bourbon, nor ever more likely to be realized by one or the other, than now in the union of both, fortified by such political connections. Should they have the effect to sacrifice

the liberty of that Iſle, which ſo long and ſo happily has ſtood forth the aſſertor of that of Europe, let Europe beware leſt its liberties then loſe the balance on which they hang. Such combinations are too complicated, too violent to laſt; and if the object of their formation is ſuch as is here alluded to, that once ſatisfied the ſharing of the ſpoils, if nothing elſe, will as haſtily operate its diſſolution, and then it is, that the weaker powers will fall a prey to the ſtronger.

There is a remarkable paſſage in Monteſquieu's *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, where the parallel is drawn between Rome and Carthage: "The powers eſtabliſhed by commerce, can ſubſiſt "a long time in a ſtate of mediocrity; but their "grandeur is of ſhort duration. They raiſe them-"ſelves by little and little, and without any one "perceiving it; for they do no particular act that "is remarkable, to ſignalize their power; but "when things are come to that point, that there is "no concealing, every one ſeeks to deprive that "nation of an advantage, which it has not gained, "if the expreſſion may be allowed, but by ſur-"priſe."

The reflection is general, all the commercial ſtates, whether ancient or modern, either have, or

may experience the truth of it. In antiquity, Athens and Carthage were ſtriking inſtances of its certainty; in modern times, Portugal evinced it, and, in a moſt ſingular manner, Britain in her conteſt with her colonies, when, beſides America, ſhe had to oppoſe one half of Europe as avowed enemies, while the other half acted as concealed ones, in the confederacy entered into, unprecedented in hiſtory, the armed neutrality. If Holland has not yet verified the remark, the time may not be far diſtant when it will be ſeen, how far other commercial nations will riſe on the ruins of its trade, as it roſe on the ruins of the Portugueſe.

One would imagine, that Monteſquieu, in drawing the above reflection, from a retroſpect of the commercial ſtates of antiquity, had foreſeen the fate of Britain, and with it the part his own country was to bear in the almoſt univerſal confederacy formed againſt its trade.

It is with a degree of rapture and enthuſiaſm, that in his greater work he ſpeaks of the Engliſh as a model of the moſt perfect human conſtitution that could be framed, as De Lolme has done after him. The concurring teſtimonies of two ſuch enlightened foreigners, unbiaſſed, unprejudiced, are the ſafeſt to be relied on. The rearing of this fa-

bric, the admiration of mankind, was the work of ages, the purifying and refining it, to bring it to its preſent ſtandard, coſt the nation revolutions, violent inteſtine convulſions, and ſtreams of its beſt blood, Through all the extremes it was agitated and toſſed in, the ſpirit of liberty was kept alive, ſteadily purſued its object, till in the end it prevailed. In the completion of the great work, no country has ever ſo nobly aſſerted the rights of men, or with ſo maſterly a hand aſcertained the juſt limits and proportions between the Prince and the People, between Prerogative and Privilege. And as it beſt among the nations aſſerted the cauſe of Liberty, ſo was it the firſt in modern Europe to ſtand forth its patron both in Church and State. It led the way in the Reformation, in breaking the fetters of the Papal yoke; and after diſpelling the gloom of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and emancipating itſelf from the abject ſlavery it impoſed, it ſoon emerged out of the ſhades of Gothic night, and burſt aſunder the bands of the feudal ſyſtem. Nor was this all, though what it did in theſe two inſtances for the cauſe of humanity, in ſo admirably aſſerting its civil and religious rights, will ever redound to its moſt laſting fame; yet in the ſame way, it firſt, in modern hiſtory, roſe to literary eminence, and ever ſince has continued to maintain the ſame ſuperiority.

FROM that memorable epoch in modern history, the middle of the 15th century, when the overthrow of the Greek empire by Mahomet II. in the Eaſt; in the Weſt the diſcovery of the Indies by Chriſtopher Columbus, at which is to be dated the revival of Grecian ſcience, when the invention of Printing made ſuch a revolution in the arts of peace; the invention of Gunpowder in the art of war, when hiſtory is to be ſtudied, not merely read, what an aſtoniſhing figure does Britain make from that period downwards, not only in the reſpects juſt mentioned, but in variety of others, and in none more than reaping the firſt fruits of theſe two great diſcoveries, her literary and martial glory keeping pace with each other, and in both, her ſo far eclipſing every other nation.

No ſooner did printing open the paths to ſcience, than Sir Thomas More ſucceſsfully entered them; he was followed by Hervey, and that great philoſopher Lord Verulam, who, by the introduction of experiment into ſcience, prepared the way for the ſublime diſcoveries, and infallible truths of the immortal Newton; before whoſe ſuperior luſtre and influence, Deſcartes and his aerial vortices, or whirlpools, with all the ſupport given them by Malebranche, diſappear as the ſhades of night before the ſun. Theſe, in philoſophy, and in poetry, the ini-

mitable Shakeſpeare, with equal ſplendor, led the way. To theſe ornaments of our annals, need not be added that long liſt of other eminent philoſophers, poets, hiſtorians, and writers that have excelled in the various branches of literature, whoſe merits are ſo well known, and whom in another place I have had occaſion to mention.

So are the pages of the Britiſh ſtory illuſtrated and adorned, and thus was it that Britain, at the ſame time that it choſe the beſt conſtitution, the beſt religion for itſelf, extended a toleration to all religions; and not ſatisfied with aſſerting its own natural rights, and far from confining its views within the limits of its own iſlands, made Europe the theatre of its operations in maintaining the cauſe of Europe, and ſtanding forth the champion of its liberties. While ſuch were the extenſive and important objects of its victories, its ſcience and arts enlightened the univerſe, and cultivated humanity.

When ſuch were the benefits conferred by it on ſociety, it deſerved no ſuch return as it met with; inſtead of a peaceable intercourſe in the way of trade with all the ſurrounding nations, in the time of public calamity, in the hour of danger, a total deſertion of friends and allies, and half of Europe, with America up in arms againſt it. If it is conſidered,

that envy and jealoufy are to be overcome neither by ftates nor individuals, the furprife vanifhes, and the regret remains. Hercules could conquer thefe two fiends only by his death: Britain finds them furviving her fall.

Nor other was the fortune of Athens, whofe hiftory, in the leading features, fo ftrikingly refembles that of this country. After the glorious ftands repeatedly made by that flourifhing ftate, in defence of the liberties of Greece, in its oppofitions to the Perfian defcent, firft under its renowned leader Miltiades on the plains of Marathon, then at the Straits of Salamis, under the conduct of Themiftocles: After it fo had, and while it ftill was continuing to embellifh philofophy, and the fine arts with fuch inimitable productions of genius, it was then that it experienced againft it, in the Peloponnefian war, an almoft general confederacy of the principal cities of Greece, which did not end but in its entire overthrow, and fubjection to the rival power of Sparta. That in the fequel, and towards the clofe, the parallel of the two hiftories may not be fo exactly preferved, as in the intermediate parts, is for Britain well to beware, that it may not experience, in its dangerous and watchful rival, what Athens felt in Lacedemon, and Carthage in Rome, is for it well to guard againft. As Carthage was to Rome on the

opposite side of the Mediterranean, so is Britain to France, on the opposite side of the English channel. The points in which the parallel between the two states is most striking, are their liberty, commerce, intestine factions, mutual lot to cope with an ambitious restless rival, and their means of doing it, their riches. And may not the alarming symptoms that this island is threatened with from its divisions and caballing spirit, that cease not in those times of public danger and calamity, when the enemy is knocking at its gates, produce a similarity in its fate with that of the African republic.

What remains for Britain, in opposition to that union of powers, formed and forming against it, is an entire union in itself. Let it beware of the factions of Carthage, and the fate they conspired to draw on it. It was England's union, its compact and solid state, that nursed in it the spirit that has reared its perfect constitution, consecrated it the sole region, and chosen seat of Liberty, cultivated her recesses, raised her temple, and on her altars sacrificed. It was when the din of faction was no more heard, when the voice of party-rage slept, that it reached the summit of glory, and victory from pole to pole crowned its arms. It was when divided against itself, it fell from that towering height to its present low ebb, never to rise again but by unanimity,

which alone can arm it againſt all attacks from within, or from without.

Let it attend to, and maturely weigh that profound reflection, coming from the neighbouring nation, drawn from the hiſtory of antiquity, founded in the experience of ages, therefore extenſive in its application, probably infallible in its concluſions, and conſider it as a prediction of its ſtill further declenſion, as it has already proved of its preſent ſtate of ebbing, and ſo turn it to its advantage. Let Britain reflect, that France will not reſt ſatisfied with the preſent involved, embarraſſed ſituation it has ſo much contributed to reduce us to; but, on the contrary, availing itſelf of our complicated diſtreſs, our late heavy loſſes, of the powerful confederacies it has formed againſt us, the alliances it has detached from us, all which favourable circumſtances have enabled it to reduce its land-forces, the better to bend its whole attention to the improvement of its marine, ſo taking advantage of its own either abſolute or relative flouriſhing ſtate, from its jealouſy of our trade, unconquerable envy of our greatneſs, it will ſeek our further depreſſion.

To turn at length our eyes from foreign to domeſtic policy, that policy reſorted to in the mutual intercourſe of the two parts of the iſland, and the

two iſlands themſelves, it is feared we ſhall have no more reaſon to approve of the one than the other, but find both equally defective, alike conducive to the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of affairs.

In viewing the intereſts of Great Britain as connected with thoſe of its neighbouring ſiſter kingdom, the firſt ſtriking idea, that naturally and neceſſarily preſents itſelf, is a full participation of each others advantages and diſadvantages, in a firm and laſting bond of union. Without ſuch a connection, the one is far ſunk below her ſo late elevated ſtation in the political ſcale of Europe, and the other will never riſe near to it. All ideas of commercial regulations diſappear before this as temporary expedients, abſorbed in its ſuperior influence. They have been attempted, from time to time, in a variety of fluctuating ſhapes, and in all of them have ſucceſſively eluded the ſearch; nor will they ever be renewed with any proſpect of real advantage, or laſting ſucceſs to the contracting nations. They therefore ſhould, it would ſeem, be laid aſide, with a view to the lenient hand of time diſſipating the paſſions and prejudices, that at preſent bar the completion of ſo deſirable an event. Not but that it is attended with difficulties, that appear ſcarcely ſurmountable in any length of time. They ariſe from the ſpirit of independence, diffuſed among our neighbouring

Iſlanders, an independence obtained from us in the day of our adverſity, and conſequent jealouſy entertained of it by a people ſo late emerged from a ſtate of ſubjection. If in return for the independence given to them, we had ſecured to ourſelves but an union, or if an union had been made the condition of independence, we had then effectually provided for the moſt valuable and permanent intereſts of both nations, as they muſt ſtand or fall together. But we were then ſo involved in the American war, as not to have been able to think of ſuch extenſive arrangements at home; and it is well, if we have not to attribute the final loſs of Ireland to that of America among our other loſſes; and it is to be wiſhed, that even there may be the full extent of them.

Now, it is feared, it is much too late to propoſe the terms, the opportunity is loſt, and we may offer them only to be rejected; and how a great and once powerful nation, with the hereditary martial ſpirit this is poſſeſſed of, can brook inſult upon loſs from a long dependent, and much inferior people, is for it to conſider. It is for it well to weigh, whether that country, warned by the example of the Scottiſh nation, will not, with a more jealous eye, watch over its newly acquired liberty and independence,

than that deluded people guarded its ancient hereditary rights and immunities.

And here let us pauſe a while, to take a ſurvey of that proceeding, the Union between the two kingdoms. That warlike people, that, never could be brought by its aſpiring neighbours to make a ſurrender of its rights in the field, was egregiouſly duped out of them in the cabinet. That a nation that had ſo well fought, ſhould have ſo miſerably negotiated, is at once matter of regret and aſtoniſhment. Nor in any other light, can that ſo much canvaſſed treaty of Union, be looked on coolly and diſpaſſionately, without bias or prejudice. It muſt be confeſſed, that that national act, with all its painful conſequences, is far preferable to that continual ſtate of war, in which the two countries, ſo far back in their hiſtories, had been involved: But that ſtate of war had long ceaſed, prior to the Union of the two Kingdoms, it had ceaſed even before the Union of the two Crowns: The removal then of that calamity, was none of the advantages attending that act to either nation.

To counterbalance the innumerable advantages that England derives from it, What is the ſingle benefit Scotland reaps? A communication of trade, it will be anſwered. It may be a queſtion, how far

that was beneficial; and to ſolve this queſtion, it will be neceſſary to have ſome recourſe to principles—and principles ſeem to teach us, that commerce ſhould rather be the conſequence of agriculture, arts, and manufactures, than the means of them. Agriculture being the baſis, all the reſt follow of courſe, and progreſſively in their order: But to begin with commerce, and ſo in an inverſe method, through the medium of arts and manufactures, to arrive at the culture of land, is a reverſal of all order in the œconomy of things, and conſtitutes their retrogade motion. The progreſs to refinement and luxury in bodies politic, as well as natural, ſhould be by ſlow degrees, not rapid and haſty ſtrides. But, by the Union, it was meant that we ſhould at once plunge into all the affluence, luxury, and refinement of Engliſh commerce, from a very moderate degree of civilization. It was not ſo that England advanced to her commercial greatneſs; ſhe otherwiſe proportioned means to ends—ſhe prudently made agriculture the foundation of her wealth and conſequence; and, had it not been for her too early adoption of the colonizing ſyſtem, as has been above ſhewn, ſhe would have made ſtill leſs progreſs in commerce, till ſhe had made greater in agriculture; nor would ſhe have ſought to have acquired her foreign dependencies, till, from the cultivation of all her improveable waſte lands at home, and conſe-

quent luxuriant population, ſhe had no room left for the ſuperfluity of her inhabitants. The colonies form a ſtriking contraſt to the whole United Kingdom, in their rapid advances to national proſperity and independence, in eſtabliſhing agriculture as the baſis, and progreſſively proceeding through all the different ſtages of improvement.

For the ſame reaſon, Scotland, with her very great diſproportion of improved lands, to thoſe that are improveable and waſte, at the time we are ſpeaking of, ſince it is ſo great at preſent, together with her confined method of improvement, obſerved in the cultivated parts, then eſpecially, as it is at this day capable of ſuch enlargement, was not ſufficiently ripened or matured, for the prodigious, ſudden, and unnatural influx of Engliſh trade. She had not ſtamina, was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient internal ſtrength, ariſing from increaſe of cultivation and population, for great external exertions, in a commercial line; ſhe could not, in her infant ſtate, ſpare men enough to anſwer the common dangers of the ſea, attendant on a complicated and extenſive trade, independent of the drains of wars, emigrations, foreign ſettlements, that are the neceſſary conſequences of it. In return for Engliſh commerce, our ſubjecting Scotch trade to the Engliſh duties, was receiving it with ſuch embarraſſments, as very

much diminiſhed its value, and, joined with the ſpirit of election, has proved the ruin of many of the towns on the coaſt of Fife; and if on their ruins, have riſen to a flouriſhing ſtate, the towns of Perth, Dundee, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, and others, ſtill that is but enriching one part of the country at the expence of another, inſtead of all parts being alike benefited. In the ſame deſolate ſituation with the coaſt of Fife, is that of Galloway, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, though admirably calculated for carrying on an extenſive trade with England, Ireland, and the various parts of the old and new world. Its local advantages are ſacrificed to ſmuggling in a few ſtraggling petty towns. Its contraband trade has declined with that of the Iſle of Man, and, with the excellent roads, the firſt ſtep to all improvements made in that extenſive tract of country, a way is paved for the enterpriſing ſpirit of landlords to ſubſtitute, in the room of the decayed, illicit, a more flouriſhing lawful trade. Nor better is the condition of the whole extent of coaſt round Scotland, with a few exceptions, as ſhall be more enlarged on, in its proper place, where the fiſheries are diſcuſſed.

With the ſo long obtained participation of the latitude of their extenſive trade, how many ports and havens fit to hold the Navy of Great Britain,

do our coaſts at this moment abound in, wholly uſeleſs and unoccupied! How many Iſles are there ſurrounding this, which, if attended to, and cultivated, inſtead of the waſte condition they are in, might have proved valuable ſeveral dependencies, with their trade ſupporting and aggrandiſing the parent ſtate. Whence does this ariſe, but from the neceſſity of trade keeping pace with agriculture, notwithſtanding all the means uſed, to compare great things with ſmall, to force like muſhroom appearances, or hot-bed productions, its unnatural and diſproportionate growth.

The article of commerce, being ſo weighed, and the balance found ſo little in our favour, if not ſo much againſt us, from the falſe conception it gives us of a borrowed greatneſs, of riches not natural to us, nor entirely our own, in the further proſecution of it, the argument will aſſume a different ſhape, and the evident advantages on the ſide of England, will appear greatly to preponderate in the ſcale. With our Parliament, went our ancient hereditary ſpirit of independence, and national conſequence: With it the product of our great landed property, in the poſſeſſion of Lords and Commons, to be ſquandered and diſſipated in the overgrown luxurious ſeat of Empire. Here is a very heavy article againſt us in the balance of trade, for which

there is no return. Add to the conſumption of our wealth there, the barren and pernicious effects of it, the importation of the extravagant ideas of Engliſh luxury, with the returning Legiſlators, into a yet but growing and rudely formed country, not ſufficiently matured to reſiſt its infectious qualities: And their fortunes little equal to the weight of attending ſo diſtant a legiſlation, with the remains, are ſtill leſs equal at home to the ſupport of ſuch a load of foreign luxury. The contagion of example too, ſpreads far, the force of imitation propagates the diſeaſe, and renders it incurable. And thus, in a yet but infant ſtate, we have the corruption abounding, that is incident only to full grown bodies politic. To this ſo exhauſting a drain, may be added thoſe other two of education and appeals; not to mention the various articles of trade. The annual exports to Scotland, between 1763 and 1775, including the money ſpent in England, by the Scots, are ſtated at L. 2,600,000, the exports to America never exceeded L. 1,763,409, upon an average of ten years, prior to 1780, not even in 1771, the higheſt year of exports, particularly to America. The balance is near a million. Much more proportionably to what Scotland has gained in its trade with the Engliſh dependencies, it has loſt in that with England itſelf. This truth may be illuſtrated by analogy, drawn between the bodies, natural and

politic. As in the former, the circulation of the blood is, the nearer the heart, the more copious and vigorous, and the more ſcanty and languid towards the extremities; ſo in the ſame proportion, the returns were quicker, and more certain from one part of the Iſland to the other, than acroſs the Atlantic Ocean, between the ſame Iſland and its colonies. With all this detail of burdenſome articles againſt us, and not one favourable circumſtance for us, there yet remains one to be added to the liſt, more than equal in weight to all the reſt, our proportion of the national debt, and with the mention of it, we may cloſe this ſummary review of the relative ſituations of the united parts of this Iſland, and proſecute our enquiries into the ſtate of the neighbouring one, which led us into this deduction. Before quitting it, it may be obſerved, that the thoughts on this ſubject, as well as the colonizing ſyſtem, were put together, before the peruſal of the admirable publication, the Wealth of Nations; the coincidence of ideas to be traced in ſo high an authority is a great encouragement in the ſubmitting them to the public.

The Iriſh, thus warned by the example of the Scottiſh deluſion and miſtaken policy, will carefully avoid falling into the ſame error. Beſides all theſe obſtacles that ſhould have proved inſurmountable

to an Union of the two parts of the Iſland, on the preſent terms, and will prove ſo to a complete incorporation of the two Iſlands themſelves, there is another very material bar ariſing from local ſituation, the diſtance between them and the intervening ſea. This is a very effectual obſtruction to one Parliament; and if Ireland, from natural as well as political obſtacles, cannot be incorporated with Britain, on the ſame conditions that the two parts of Britain are with each other, one Legiſlature ſerving for all, all the three might have been ſo on the ſame terms, under one Head, with each their ſeparate legiſlation, on the model of the Britiſh. In yielding to this arrangement, neither of the three ſacrifice any thing, but the ſeveral component parts of a firm united body conſpire in a general harmony to the good of the whole.

The conſtant and uniform ideas entertained of an Union between the two kingdoms, long previous to the period that it took place, was a federal, not an incorporating one. Edward the Firſt and Third, were bent on no other, nor under any other impreſſion did the Commiſſioners, on the part of Scotland, meet to negotiate it in Queen Anne's reign; till, by bribery and undue influence, they were gained over to the views of the Engliſh, to betray the truſt repoſed in them, to ſacrifice the

real intereſts of both people; and by the ſame unjuſtifiable, ſecret, indirect means, joined with the appearance of open force, a ratification of their deed was procured in the Scottiſh Parliament.

The circumſtances, that led to this revolution in the political ſtate of the Iſland, were ſingularly critical. It took place on the eve of the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, at a time when a great party in England were in correſpondence with the exiled family, and the inclinations of all Scotland might be ſuppoſed to be favourable to its ancient race of Kings. Scotland was then in arms, and Britain was reduced to the alternative of an Union to ſecure the preſent ſucceſſion, or a civil war to endanger it. The firſt was adopted, as the leaſt of the two evils.

England loſes nothing in conſenting to a reſtoration of the Scots Parliament, without impeachment of the Union, as by ſuch an act, ſhe only removes one of the leaſt ſources of wealth, that contributes to the aggrandiſement of the greatly overgrown ſeat of empire, the ſize of which has been long haſtening the decline of the ſtate. What London would loſe, Scotland would gain, and through the medium of Scotland, England; and if England is ſo much benefited in the preſent ſyſtem of things, how much more would it be in the

event of ſuch a change. At the ſame time, that that ſource of evil is removed from the one capital, a proportional good is tranſplanted to the other, there to circulate the riches that nature meant it ſhould have. The more equally the riches of a country are diffuſed over the face of it, to the utmoſt limits of its moſt remote provinces, where, as, in the extremities of the natural body, the circulation of the blood being more languid, requires the greater encouragement, the more flouriſhing is the ſtate of that country.

By ſuch a federal union, all the three contracting parts have every thing to gain, and nothing to loſe; they become a firm, compact ſolid body, their motto, *Tria juncta in uno.* A free ſtate of too great an extent, can neither guard againſt hoſtile attacks from without, or fruſtrate deſpotic attacks from within, any way ſo well as by ſubdividing itſelf into ſeveral federal ſtates under one head. There is the more urgent neceſſity for ſuch a triple union, to oppoſe the triple league that is formed on the continent againſt the objects of it, by that power that ever has been ready to foment diviſions in the Iſland of Great Britain, and take advantage of them when fomented; and that ever will be ready to encourage the ſame diviſions between the two

Iſlands themſelves, and adopt the maxim, *divide et impera*, with which the world was conquered.

THERE have been ſeveral periods in our hiſtory, when that aſpiring rival might have availed itſelf, with ſucceſs, of ſuch a policy, in the conteſts that have ariſen between Britain and Ireland, as in Tyrone's rebellion, in the grand rebellion, and at the Revolution. But its own internal convulſions, its purſuits in the extenſion of its conqueſts by land, long prevalent inattention to commerce, prevented its ſeizing on ſuch favourable opportunities. Now that its occupations are other than they then were, its views directed to different objects, and trade among them the ruling one, it is to be preſumed, that, in the preſent critical ſituation of the two Iſlands, it will not look on with an eye of indifference, as on former ſimilar occaſions, but have recourſe to another line of meaſures, and take an active part in the ſtruggle.

LYCURGUS being aſked whether he had given the Spartans the beſt laws he was capable of framing for them? anſwered, That he had given them the beſt they were capable of receiving: So to paſs from Utopian ſchemes of policy, let us enquire into the moſt practicable that remain for the relief of this country; for the above reaſoning ſhould have pre-

vented the preſent terms of the Union, rather than now correct them: And the ſame reaſoning that might evince the danger of ſo late a change ſhould have operated againſt it at firſt. Forcible arguments on this topic, are to be drawn from the Roman ſtory, on the removal of the ſeat of empire to Conſtantinople. Monteſquieu's reflection on that event is, when a government has a form long eſtabliſhed, and things are fixed in a certain ſituation, it is almoſt always prudent to leave them in it, becauſe the reaſons, often complex and unknown, that occaſion ſuch a ſtate to have ſubſiſted, occaſion alſo its continuance; but when the total ſyſtem is changed, there is no remedy but for inconveniencies that preſent themſelves in theory, and others are left remedileſs, which experience alone can diſcover. Thus, though the empire was of but far too great extent; the diviſion, which was made of it, ruined it: Becauſe all the parts of that immenſe body, a long time united, were adjuſted to remain ſo, and have a dependence on one another.

RELATIVE STATE

OF THE

FINANCES OF THE RIVAL NATIONS.

THE fruits reaped from all theſe various meaſures of government, purſued in this and the neighbouring country, come next in order under review, of courſe the relative ſtate of their reſpective finances.

GENERAL Table of the groſs ſums enumerated in the body of Mr Necker's work.

	French Livres.	*Pounds Sterling.*
Total amount of the taxes annually levied, -	585,000,000	25,593,750
Annual expences of the State, -	610,000,000	26,387,500

	French Livres.	Pounds Sterling.
Expences of collecting the taxes,	58,000,000	2,537,500
Annual amount of the importations,	230,000,000	10,062,500
Exportations, -	300,000,000	13,125,000
Balance of commerce, -	70,000,000	3,062,500
Annual intereſt of the national debt,	207,000,000	9,056,250
Charge of the army,	124,650,000	5,433,437 10
Navy and Colonies,	45,200,000	1,977,500
Amount of gold and ſilver coin ſuppoſed to be in the kingdom,	2,200,000	96,250,000
Suppoſed annual increaſe, -	40,000,000	1,750,000

which he ſuppoſes equal to that of all the other States of Europe together.

	Pounds Sterling.
The amount of the debt not given, Suppoſe about - -	181,000,000

	L.	Sol.	Deniers.	
The exact par, is	22	17	6	*per* pound Sterling.

Refult of NECKER'S *Calculations in the Account he gave the King, January* 1781.

The revenues amount to -	264,154,000
The expences to - -	253,954,000
The revenues exceed the expences by	10,200,000

Nota. That furplus is independent of 17,326,666 livres employed in reimburfements, of which the detail follows:

Total of reimburfements, - -	17,326,666

OF the annual intereft of the national debt, as above ftated, Livres 81,400,000 confift of liferent annuities. Of the debt of Great Britain, there are but about Livres 30,000,000 extinguifhable in a certain time, the reft confift of perpetual mortgages. It is fingular that this Financier ftates the annual interefts of the debts of the two nations at prefent equal, eftimating ours, at pounds Sterling, 8,933,414, which fum, at the rate of 23 livres, 3 fous, 6 deniers *per* pound Sterling, would make about 207 millions French money. There is ano-

ther unfavourable circumſtance for Britain, that enters into the comparative view, a greater proportion of its debt is contracted with foreigners than that of France. Our national debt, at the end of Queen Anne's war, was L. 55,000,000, and American L. 240,000,000. It would be curious to compute at what rate has been the daily expenditure of Great Britain ſince the creation of the world, how many thouſands, or what extent of ground the guineas in it, placed horizontally, would cover.

Our coinage is free, a moderate duty would be expedient. In France a Seignorage or duty of about 8 *per cent.* is impoſed on it.

The French have taken the lead of us in the eſtabliſhment of a ſinking fund, having appropriated a ſum for the leſſening their national debt the year following the peace.

The annual average importation of gold and ſilver into Spain and Portugal, is about L. 6,000,000 Sterling. Of which the annual conſumption at Birmingham is L. 59,000.

Spain was deeply involved in debt before the end of the ſixteenth century, a century before

England had any public debts. The Italian ſtates began the ruinous ſyſtem of funding.

Let us hear what the profound Stateſman and Financier here cited, ſays on the credit of Britain, as worthy of the attention of every Britiſh ſubject.

It has been conſtantly ſeen, that the loans of England ſucceed each other with more activity, and to greater extent, than thoſe of France, even in the times that that kingdom had the moſt credit, a circumſtance that ought to appear the more extraordinary, as the ſpecie of Britain, including in it the bank-notes, which ſtand for money, ſcarcely equalled, for theſe ten years paſt, the half of the actual ſpecie of France. It is not only in the extent of the public confidence, that is to be ſought the cauſe of that aſtoniſhing faculty of borrowing, of which Britain gave more ſtriking inſtances in the American war than ever: He is perſuaded that, with the ſame degree of credit, ſhe never would have arrived at it, without the activity that prevails in the circulation; or, to ſpeak more plainly, without the readineſs, with which the funds drawn to the Treaſury by the loans, and afterwards diſſipated for the public expence, return into the hands of the ſubſcribers, who lend them afreſh the ſucceeding years. The rapidity

of that circulation arises from particular causes: 1*st*, From the habitual and general usage of paper money, which renders the payments from one end of the kingdom to the other as quick as the post. 2*dly*, From the small extent of the kingdom. 3*dly*, From the centering of almost all the specie in London, at once a sea-port, capital, chief seat of commerce, and centre of almost all the bank payments. 4*thly*, From the practice of all the merchants and individuals not to have money in their repositories, but to lodge it with cashiers without interest, but with the tacit permission to profit of the funds, of which they are the depositories: So that that multitude of small sums of money, which otherwise would stagnate in the hands of individuals, by concentrating in those of bankers, form a capital considerable enough to create an interest in them to bring it into circulation. *Lastly*, That rapid circulation essentially depends on the decided confidence in Government, always with facility to the present hour realized, and on the variety of different ways all tolerated by it, as so many means proper to favour the activity of commerce. Whatever is gained by commerce is added to the funds of circulation.

If one year is only requisite to complete the circulation in Britain, two or three will be needed in

France; from the prevalence there of the diametrically oppoſite cauſes to thoſe above urged with us. Credit and circulation mutually operate on each other, as action and re-action. But what tends to diminiſh the funds of circulation in both countries alike, is the exceſs of taxes: For this reaſon, that, as in all countries their riches are divided into two branches, what circulates in the markets to ſupply the daily wants of, and furniſh the neceſſaries of life to their inhabitants, and what ſuperfluities of it are in the hands of the money-holders, exceſſive taxation has the effects to increaſe the ſums requiſite in the firſt inſtance, conſequently to diminiſh thoſe in the ſecond, and raiſe the rate of intereſt.

England is not only the beſt model of a political inſtitution, but alſo of the government of finance. Its bank, founded in 1693, eighty-four years after that of Amſterdam, is a great improvement on it, as its bills, from the extent of its credit, and that of Government, circulate as ſpecie, and the ſpecie lodged in it to anſwer their exchange, bears but a moderate proportion to them, to what extent is known only to a few, and variable according to the views of the governor and directors, who in their determinations, are guided by circumſtances, and the exigencies of the times. In this arrangement

of things, they are equivalent to the ſpecie in circulation, and by ſmoothing the wheels of commerce, contribute at the ſame time to its increaſe. Eſtimating the ordinary dividend of the Bank of England at five and one-half *per cent.* and its capital at L. 10,780,000, the neat annual profit, after paying the expence of management, muſt amount, it is ſaid, to L. 592,000.

But the Bank of Amſterdam, in keeping conſtantly depoſited a dead ſum, bearing no intereſt equal to the extent of its bills in circulation, is attended with diſadvantages proportional to the advantages of that of England. From the ſoundneſs of the principles on which it is founded, that have ſtood the teſt of ages, it has been twice imitated in France, without ſucceſs, once in the raſh ſcheme of Law, and now in the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, the capital of which is 17,500,000 livres; and ſuch was the progreſs of its credit, that it had iſſued bills to the amount of 43,000,000, in October 1783, the period of its failure.

To proceed to the ſources of French finance, the earlieſt tax that preſents itſelf, the moſt fruitful, and moſt oppreſſive to the people, that have at different times revolted againſt it, is la Gabelle, or the impoſt on ſalt. If the origin of it is not to be

placed in the reign of Philip de Valois, but earlier in the fourteenth century, as ſome hiſtorians contend, in that of Philip le Long, certainly its augmentation is, and that contributed to, by our ſucceſs at Creſſi, which drew from Edward III. the appellation to Philip, not without its ingredient of Attic ſalt, of author of the Salique law. Such are the rigours attending this impoſt, that the coaſts are lined with officers, to prevent the poor from uſing the ſalt water for the preparation of their victuals: And each poor family is obliged to buy a certain quantity, whether they have occaſion for it or not. With us the attempt by Sir R. Walpole to augment this tax, after occaſioning tumults, and the burning of the miniſter in effigy, proved abortive: The renewal of it by Lord North, during the American war, was more ſucceſsful. In the country, where nature has been the moſt favourable to the production of ſalt, the inhabitants are the worſt ſupplied. In this article, France, from its climate, enjoys great advantages over us, in the making of it, nature performing there, what art does with us; the ſun producing that effect there, that fire does here. It is one of the great ſources of the wealth of that kingdom; Cardinal Richelieu, in his Political Teſtament, compares the ſalt mines and pits, as ſources of wealth, to the mines of Peru and Mexico.

Certain it is, according to Necker's account, they produce a clear revenue of 54,000,000 livres, as much as the land tax, repreſented by the two 20ths, and four ſous a livre in the firſt. He is, at the ſame time, for new-modelling it, on account of the exceſſive rigours attending its collection, the ſtate of inteſtine war the kingdom is kept in, by the illicit traffic carried on, in its transfer from the provinces exempted from the Gabelle to thoſe ſubjected to it. His plan is at once ſimple and efficacious, a moderate equalized duty on ſalt, throughout the provinces. Beſides this great ſuperiority France has over other nations in the extracting of ſalt from the ſea-water, it has the additional one of its ſalt-pits, or mines of ſalt, formed in the earth by cryſtallization, ſuch as are found in Lorraine, Franche Comté, Alſace, Le Trois Evechés. Salt there is alſo extracted by boiling from ſand impregnated with ſalt-water. That obtained in this proceſs is of an inferior quality, leſs active, than what is produced in the marſhes. Along the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, and Macco in Arabia, ſalt is made in the ſame manner as in France, by the operation of the ſun on the ſalt-water lodged in pits. At the mouth of the Ganges, a different method is adopted, and the earth is impregnated with the ſaline particles of the ſea, afterwards formed into conical heaps, and by means of burnt ſtraw, the ſalt is ex-

tracted from them. This, with tobacco, are the great objects of taxation, in moſt of the States on the Continent. It is as ancient as general, it was a Roman tax: Among the Jews alſo it obtained, from whom it was levied by Demetrius, and Ptolomy King of Egypt. I. Maccabees, x. 29, and xi. 35.; the laſt quotation mentions the ſalt-pits.

The clergy of the kingdom is divided into two claſſes, that of France, and the clergé étranger, the firſt is exempt from the vingtiemes, and poll tax; in conſideration of which exemption, they pay the Dons gratuits, which are a little leſs than their proportions of theſe taxes. From the ſame origin, the Latin Decimus, with our tithes due to the Church, are derived the French Decime, Dixme, and Dixieme. La Decime, or more commonly, les Decimes, ſignify what the Eccleſiaſtics give the King out of their revenues for the ſervice of the State, and which varies according to exigencies.—La Dixme, is what the Faithful give to the Miniſters of the Church, or Seigneurs. La Dixieme is what proportion the King draws of the revenues of the people, ariſing from moveables and immoveables.

This proportion is not the tenth, as the name imports, but varies, as what he receives from the

Church does, according to the exigencies of the State. The other branches of public revenue arise from a discretionary oppressive capitation tax. The three vingtiemes, or land-tax, with four sous in the livre, in the first, make 16 *per cent.* One of the 20ths is to be reduced in the 1787. The 100th penny is levied on all offices of law and finance. La Taille is a grievous tax on agriculture and industry, operating as a check to both, to commerce, cutting it up by the root, as it is increased in proportion to the advances made in husbandry, and levelled against the lower, and most industrious orders of society, the farmers. The other equally oppressive tax, resorted to there, the capitation tax was known at ancient Rome, where it was exclusively levelled against the poor, and that because they had no property to tax. For the same reason, their poverty, they were not inrolled at first in the militia, except on very urgent occasions. Servius Tullius placed them in the 6th class, and the soldiers were taken only from the first five: Till the time of Marius, who, in the Jugurthine war, inrolled all descriptions of men indiscriminately, as we are informed by Sallust: "*Milites scribere, non more majorum, neque classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque.*" The traité, or customs, form a great branch of taxation. They are subjected to

all our taxes, except the commutation or window-tax. All levied on the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, amount, it is calculated, to three-fourths of the ſubject's annual revenue. They are rented by the Farmers General, a kind of licenſed ſtate plunderers, enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of the nation, whom Necker was ſo anxiouſly bent on removing from their lucrative employments; but whoſe power and influence, ariſing from their great riches, have been ſufficient to defeat every ſucceſſive attempt made againſt them. A different rule is applicable to the pays d' états, the provinces governed by their own ſtates, from what regulates the reſt of the kingdom in revenue ordonnances; each province has its proportion allotted it of the public money, and the mode of levying it is left to its ſtates, in which the three orders of ſociety are repreſented, the Clergy, Nobleſſe, and Commons, or third Eſtate: Their contributions, as thoſe of the Church, are termed Dons gratuits, though compulſatory, as thoſe levied in the other provinces. There are other taxes the States are ſubjected to, beſides theſe levied in their own provinces. Necker makes our contributions 160,000,000 of livres leſs than thoſe of France. Their total amount he ſtates at 427,000,000. Nor do they differ more in their quantity than quality, as it is the poor of France

that chiefly ſuffer in the taxation, the rich, in Britain.

To ſuch a ſituation has the reſtleſs ambition of that country reduced itſelf and us: Not to mention the ſtates of bankruptcy, it has repeatedly experienced in its wars with us, the deſperate expedients it had recourſe to, in debaſing the coin in a new coinage of 1786, attended with irreparable detriment to the State, while all its efforts have proved ineffectual to ſhake our credit, to this moment entire, the only alleviating circumſtance attending our exhauſted finances.

RELATIVE STATE

OF THE

RESOURCES and their Concomitant DRAINS in the two COUNTRIES.

TO the ſame unqueſtionable authority, whoſe calculations, in the inveſtigation of finance, ſtood us in ſuch ſtead, in this ſtage of the enquiry alſo, as our ſureſt guide, are we to have recourſe.

HE eſtimates the extent and population of France to be 26,951 ſquare leagues, 25 to a degree, 24,676,000 inhabitants, or 916 individuals for every ſquare league. He computes the inhabitants of Paris from 640,000 to 680,000, and the revenue the King draws from it, to exceed that of the three kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden and Sardinia.

THE population of Great Britain and Ireland is eſtimated at about ten millions, two are allowed to

Ireland. Such is the balance againſt us, whether men or money conſtitute the riches of a country. It will require a very great diſproportion of external or borrowed ſtrength, ariſing from foreign ſettlements and trade, to do more than counterbalance ſo wide a diſproportion as is againſt us, of real internal ſtrength.

We have ſeen what Britain has been. There is that ultimate point, which all finite human affairs arrive at, in their advances to perfection, beyond which there is no proceeding in the ſame direction, but from which they have their retrogade motion, and invariably return to the ſame, or a ſimilar ſtate to that from whence they roſe. That point Britain has ſeen, and fatally for it, has now paſt. Whether France is in the ſame ſituation, is not ſo certain, but it would rather appear it is not. As Britain roſe, France fell—as Britain falls, the genius of France raiſes its head. If, in any paſt period, the greatneſs of that monarchy can be ſaid to have been carried to its height, it was in the boaſted reign of Lewis XIV. If a Prince can be ſuppoſed to have advanced it to the pinnacle of elevation, whoſe principles were ſuch, as to have led him to the breach of the treaties, and moſt ſolemn engagements he had entered into, whoſe avowed want of faith and honour, notwithſtanding his pompous title of *Grand*, by his

abject flatterers conferred on him, raiſed up againſt him a general confederacy of the principal powers of Europe. It was that Prince, who, contrary to his moſt ſolemn proteſtations, and who could not avail himſelf of the bare pretext of juſtifying the violation of them on Machiavelian principles of reaſons of ſtate and views of intereſt, as the meaſure was as repugnant to his country's welfare, as to his own honour and religion; it was he, that at the inſtigation, by the intrigues of Madame Maintenon in 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantz, the toleration act of the kingdom; and in its revocation, involved the proſcription of ſo many thouſands of the valuable Huguenot manufacturers in the ſilk, and other branches.

THE toleration that Henry IV. ſurnamed the Great, in 1598 extended to them; Lewis XIV. alſo ſurnamed the Great, deprived them of. With the Edict, was coëval the eſtabliſhment of the manufactures, with the repeal of it, their decline. Under the tolerant Prince, were eſtabliſhed both the uſeful and fine arts, in the various branches of ſilk, tapeſtry, pottery, glaſs, architecture, water-works, gardening. Under him the marine recovered. Under the perſecuting Monarch, the uſeful in general were ſuffered to decay, while only the finer arts of peace met with encouragement, but both too much

facrificed to the art of war; in a ftate of which, with few and fhort intervals of relaxation, he was engaged, from the cradle to the grave, during one of the longeft reigns that hiftory records. The one Prince was the friend and ally of the free and reformed ftates of England and Holland, the other the enemy of both. He encouraged the growth of a pernicious luxury, and fpirit of gallantry in his court, which, from it fpread through the kingdom, among all ranks of people, from that kingdom to this, the effects of which ftill remain in both. In the art of war, which he devoted himfelf to, his genius was calculated for the detail, and the prefent exigencies, not for the extenfive plans and enlarged arrangements that looked to futurity. Thefe he received from his Generals, and Minifters, the Turennes, Condes, and Colberts. In war, he encouraged all forts of ftratagem and treachery; fuch, even, it is faid, as aimed at the life of the Prince of Orange.

Then were the limits of the kingdom on every fide greatly extended: But it was a falfe glory, obtained at the expence of the fufferings and oppreffions of the people. Then was the æra of its rapid and fignal conquefts—it was then too, that, in the midft of its career, it felt a check, and that a fevere one, from the Britifh arms; till which repulfe, flufhed with its former fucceffes, it grafped at nothing fhort of the fubjection of the whole Netherlands, Auftrian and

Dutch, with Holland itſelf. The deciſive interpoſition of our forces, preſerved the balance of power of Europe, and reduced the French to the neceſſity of circumſcribing their territories within far narrower limits, than they had projected. The frontier we then preſcribed them, they have not ſince tranſgreſſed.

Their marine was at that time in its infancy, and however extraordinary efforts were made for its increaſe by the ableſt miniſter they ever had, Colbert, ſtill it was not probable that in one reign it ſhould have had both its riſe and completion. As Bacon ſays, *in rebus quibuſcunque difficilioribus, non expectandum, ut quis ſimul, et ſerat, et metat, ſed præparatione opus eſt, ut per gradus matureſcant.* Serm. Fidel. 45. The checks from time to time it received from our navy, retarded its advancement; and at the cloſe of the war 1756, it was left by us in a ſtate of almoſt total annihilation, the credit and finances of the nation ruined, it having found itſelf on the third year of that war in a ſimilar ſituation with Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, when the plate of individuals was brought to the mint, to be converted into ſpecie. It was then we ſet bounds to their power by ſea, as before we had done on land.

But that only ſerved to excite a zeal in the people for the reſtoration of their decayed marine: The exertions of a Colbert ſeemed again to appear, a ſpirit of emulation was ſpread through the provinces, and chief towns, that vied with each other in the equipment of ſhips of war, at their own expence, for the ſervice of the State. With their marine revived their credit ſo rapidly, that in the American war they borrowed on more advantageous terms than in the preceding peace, Necker tells us, and that owing to his own prudent regulations, the retrenchments he made in the national expenditure, the reform of abuſes, the order he introduced into the finances. The extraordinary efforts then made by them, and before in the reign of Lewis XIV. in the one inſtance to create, in the other to reſtore the marine, were, in proportion to the differences of circumſtances, the widely different ſtate of ancient and modern naval tactics, the ſame with thoſe made by the Romans under the Conſul Duillius in the firſt Punic war, when totally ignorant of maritime affairs, a Carthaginian galley being wrecked on their coaſt, ſerved as a model for them to conſtruct and equip a fleet, which in three months time put to ſea, came up with, beat the naval forces of Carthage. Their pointed ordinances and regulations for their marine, may well ſerve as models of inſtruction for ours.

Such a rapid revival of their naval ſtrength enabled them in the late immediately ſubſequent war, again with better ſucceſs than ever to diſpute with us the empire of the ſea. Till the time comes, when they are not only in a condition of diſputing it with us, but altogether wreſting it from us; or, when we have loſt it, as in the courſe of things we muſt, and they ſhall have aſſumed it, it does not appear, that their monarchy has reached its higheſt pitch of elevation.

The means left them to accompliſh this end, are what remains further to be conſidered in a curſory view of the comparative ſtrength of the two kingdoms. The great teſt of ſuch a compariſon, and what ſeems deciſive of the queſtion, that on which moſt of the other circumſtances that are to be weighed in the diſcuſſion chiefly depend, is what has been already touched on, the decline of the one country, and riſing ſtate of the other. The trade of France has long been on the increaſe, ours on the decline; and if it continues to ſuffer as it has done from the beginning of the American war, it will ſoon leave us overmatched by our rivals. The debts of both countries being equal, the revenues ſo unequal, it follows, that the conſumpt of our reſources is proportionally much greater than of theirs.

The ſtate of agriculture is widely different in the two countries; and it is apprehended, that in this reſpect the diſadvantages are on our ſide. If Sir Thomas More, in his early day, had cauſe to complain of the decay of tillage, and the great increaſe of graſs incloſures, what, and how great muſt be the ſubject of complaint at this day, as their increaſe from that time to this has been proportioned to the growth of luxury; and ſuch is the enormous exceſs of it, and ſo has pervaded all ranks and deſcriptions of men, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that, added to the rapacioufneſs of landlords, who find their account in that mode of cultivation, it has made the rage for paſture-lands almoſt univerſal. What is the profit of individuals in ſuch a ſyſtem, it is conceived, is national loſs. Such was the ſtate of Italy under the Emperors, it was full of pleaſure-grounds, and, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was but the garden of Rome. The labourers were in Sicily, Africa and Egypt, the gardeners in Italy; the lands were cultivated only by the ſlaves of Roman citizens. This change ſeems to have been felt in the days of Tacitus, who, in the 12th book of his Annals, ſays, that formerly corn was carried out of Italy to the moſt remote provinces, and ſtill it is not barren; but in preference to it we cultivate Africa and Egypt. The diſtributions of corn, either gratuitous, or at a low price, ſhew the diſ-

couragement of tillage there. The conquered provinces, inftead of being taxed, furnifhed a tenth part of their produce to the republic, at the rate of fixpence *per* peck. In its ftead, the product of the grafs fields was not for the foreign market, but home confumption, to feed luxury; of courfe, the fupply of the Roman market was altogether derived from them, as Italy, by the low price, was precluded from the competition.

THE ftate of agriculture is the third, laft, and moft improved ftate of human fociety, the bafis of all the ufeful arts: We having paffed that, are faft returning to the fecond ftage, that of pafture. We confequently, in the moft fertile years, diminifh greatly the exportation of grain, if now we ever have more than fupplies ourfelves, in barren years we increafe the importation of it; and this is turning againft us a very valuable branch of trade, which we formerly enjoyed to a great extent. Depopulation is befides the inevitable confequence of fuch a combination of things; the large engroffing farms are given way to, from the profit attending, and, by means of inclofures, the facility of managing them with few hands. The former fmall occupiers of land, to make room for their fucceffors, are driven into towns, fome to work, others to ftarve; fome to beg, others to fteal; all

to ſuffer in their healths, in the change from the purer air of the country, to the cloſe, ſtagnated air of the town; from the labour of the fields, to the ſedentary occupations of the houſe. So it is the country is thinned of its inhabitants, the poor-rolls are increaſed, crimes multiplied. Add to this detail, the decay of Engliſh yeomanry, the nerves and ſinews of the State.

The French huſbandry, very different from this, with the advantage of the fineſt climate, conſiſts almoſt entirely of tillage; the appearance of the country is altogether different, the fields are highly dreſſed, beautifully diverſified with woods and woodlands, without incloſures, forming in general the richeſt landſcapes. Nor do the great monopolizing farms prevail among them, that are known with us; of courſe, all the ruinous conſequences that have been enumerated, attending our ſyſtem, are avoided in theirs.

The natural advantage of our inſular ſituation above them and all Europe, is on all hands confeſſed; it is improved by the efforts of art. If, in the number and ſize of our canals, we do not now rival Holland, we are in a train of doing ſo, by perſeverance in the ſame line of conduct. In this line, it is aſtoniſhing what the exertions of an individual have

done, and how he has illuſtrated a noble deſcent by the patriotic example he has given the nation, which the nation with the ſame ſpirit and zeal has followed. Next to the great extent of ſea coaſt we are poſſeſſed of, there are no ſurer means of promoting foreign trade, than this encouragement of the home or inland navigation: As on the free circulation of the one, depends that of the other, ſo nothing can facilitate that freedom of intercourſe between the different parts of the kingdom ſo much as canals. To trace an analogy between the bodies natural and politic, it is in the one, as in the other, the freer the circulation of the blood round the heart, the eaſier will it perform its functions at the extremities.

Our neighbours have not been inattentive to inland navigation, as is ſeen in the famous Languedoc canal, executed in Louis the Fourteenth's reign, which, by its connection with the Garonne, joins the two ſeas. The junction of the Seine and Loire by the Briare canal begun by Henry IV. is another inſtance of their exertions in that line.

There is a project on the carpet for the revival of the attempt formerly begun, but without ſucceſs, from the difficulties thrown in the way by nature, in occaſioning much mining and underground ope-

rations, of joining the Seine and Somme, by means of an intermediate communication between the Somme and Oiſe, as there is at preſent between the Seine and Oiſe.

Of all the provinces, not governed by the States, Normandy is that that has moſt of Engliſh liberty and cultivation, owing to its long participation of Engliſh laws and government. In it are the richeſt proprietors, and wealthieſt farmers of the kingdom; and it is thence that incomparably the greateſt revenue is drawn to the crown. It has its charter, its cry of liberty, ſtyled *La clameure de Haro*, a corruption of Rollo I. Duke of Normandy. The horſes of Lower Normandy are the beſt in the kingdom. In this province there are eſtabliſhments of the woollen manufacture at Louviers and Elbæuf, as in Picardy at Abbeville, and as at Sedan and other places; ſo much are we rivalled in this branch, our ſtaple manufacture.

There are but few towns, Abbeville, St Quintin, and others, where the civil power is not under the control of the military.

The fortunes of individuals are, in general, ſo circumſcribed, ſo fettered with entails, with no means of enlargement from trade or agriculture,

that they may remain at the ſame low ebb for centuries, unleſs a miſer intervenes to retrieve them.

In the time of Lewis XII. deſcent was not the only title to nobility, but together with it was the profeſſion of arms; another ſource was the acquiſition of a ſeigniory or noble fief, and conſequent ſervice in war rendered to the Leige Lord. That extenſive ſyſtem of Nobleſſe ſubſiſted in France till the reign of Henry III. when it received a limitation from the 258th article of the ordonnance of Blois in the year 1579, which ſuppreſſed the acquiſition of it by noble fiefs: And a further limitation from the edict of Henry IV. which barred the other channel through which it was derived, military ſervice. The edict of Lewis XV. in 1750, the laſt regulation on the head, is a reſtoration to the army of Nobleſſe. So that now the titles that confer it are, hereditary right, the king's letters, the military profeſſion, and certain civil offices in the departments of law and finance.

By an edict of Lewis XIV. in 1669, Commerce is not derogatory of Nobleſſe: But it ſeems to have influenced the conduct of the higher ranks only negatively, and to have given no bias, or active turn to their exertions in trade, or agriculture, to both

which their genius and ſpirit, derived from their high ſenſe of honour are ſo averſe.

The want of example and encouragement from the great, in patriotic meaſures in either line, retard much the progreſs of the arts and manufactures, which ſtand in need of the foſtering hand of patronage. Not to mention, that the indulgence, by this edict, extended to trade, is not general, but confined to the wholeſale trader, to the excluſion of the retailer.

It is ſingular, that in a country where ſuch high notions of Nobleſſe are entertained, there ſhould be no ſuch inſtitution as a Herald's office, to check the abuſes of individuals, in aſſuming what coats of arms, titles, coronets and ſupporters they pleaſe; a ſpecies of licentiouſneſs that our liberty and commerce do not tolerate.

All this ſyſtem of Nobleſſe is repugnant to commercial regulations, particularly that part of it relative to the purchaſe of employments that ennoble, as when capitals are procured, that might ſerve for the extenſion of trade, it is then they are ſo miſapplied and taken out of the circle.

In ſuch a combination of things, the means of the improvement and gratification of taſte, on which the refinement of the arts depend, are very deficient. Thus it is we ſee, as great a reſemblance in the different parts of that country, and the reſidences of its proprietors, as there is an uniformity in the manners of its inhabitants themſelves. The manſion-houſe is generally part of the court of offices, and altogether form one ſquare; and adjoining is the garden geometrically laid out, all in form, all art, no nature. There is no nation that has carried gardening to the pitch of perfection the Britiſh has, in ſo much ſtudying nature in the plan of pleaſure-grounds.

The diſtribution of the Parliaments, to the number of thirteen, in the provinces of that kingdom, is well calculated to prevent drains from them to the capital, and preſerve the due equilibrium between the different parts ſo ill provided for, in our engroſſing ſyſtem of an only Parliament for ſuch a kingdom as Great Britain.

The capitals of both kingdoms are of far too enormous a ſize, and in nearly the ſame extent, have far exceeded the limits proportioned to the reſt of the reſpective countries they belong to; but there is a wide difference in the extent of the countries,

and Paris is much more proportioned to France, than London is to Britain.

They have not our turnpikes, but, in their ſtead, ſtatute-labour in ſome provinces, in others aſſeſſment. In Auſtrian Flanders, as with us, it is the traveller that pays for the reparation of the highways, which is the moſt equitable method: The Britiſh tolls are preferable to the French corvées. It is not for government to take the management of them into their own hands; for, if at preſent there are abuſes committed in them, there would then be much greater. There is great negligence ſhown by our Commiſſioners in not attending to the proper width of the highways. In the principal lines of communication between the two capitals, either in the eaſtern, weſtern, or middle direction, they are in ſome places ſo narrow, as ſcarcely to admit of a horſe paſſing a carriage; and that in a land of commerce filled with large waggons, the courſe of which muſt conſequently be much obſtructed.

The regulations acroſs the Channel for poſting, printed by the King's authority, the poſtilions wearing the King's livery, and one man only at each poſt allowed to furniſh poſt-horſes to travellers, partake of the nature of an abſolute monarchy, and are not calculated for the freedom of ours.

THE excellence of the police, the vigilance of the Marechaussée, are great preventatives against highway robberies, thefts, and other infractions of the laws, breaches of the peace so frequent with us. Nor are the public executions for crimes either so common, but in their stead condemnation to the galleys for a stated time, or for life. The police, which had its rise under Henry IV. has been carried to a very high degree of perfection; but such a police, with all its boasted advantages, is only calculated for such a government. Its arbitrary proceedings, and secret accusations, are not for ours, which can admit of none but such as are bound by fixed and known laws. What it is to-day, of old was that of ancient Rome. The Dictator and Censorships were striking proofs of the continual infringements of liberty in that constitution.

THE soil in both countries bears a strong resemblance, abounding in chalk, flint, and limestone; but the Barrow limestone in Leicestershire has properties peculiar to itself, in resisting the impressions of air and water. It is what is used in the aqueduct bridges of our canals; and such is its singular quality, that the longer it is under water, the harder and more impenetrable it is found. It serves for incrustations on houses, and is preferable on trial to any compositions that have been invent-

ed for that purpoſe, conſiſting of Italian earth or litholium.

Wood abounds in both countries, tho' of different ſizes and qualities, the Engliſh foreſts of oak being unrivalled in their ſhip-timber; the robur, the chief ſpecies, is peculiar to them. That great naval advantage, which we have ſo long enjoyed, is now at length beginning to fail us: Thoſe ſtately foreſts, which nature deſtined for the ſupply of our ſhips of burden alone, and to the conſumption of which they were equal, have groaned ſo frequently under the ax, bled ſo profuſely, are ſo exhauſted in the additional ſupply of ſhips of war, as to be threatened with annihilation. The ſtate of the growth of oak ſhould be a conſtant enquiry of the Legiſlature; it ſerved to raiſe us to the higheſt pitch of national proſperity; now, our very national exiſtence depends on it. To the drains of it ſhould be proportioned the ſupplies and renewal of the plantations. Without our oaks, our natural bulwark the ſea is of little avail; both together may prove an inſurmountable barrier in the hour of danger.

The grains of both countries are the ſame. We have nothing to oppoſe to their fine wines but our hops, mum, perry, and cyder. In our rich mines, we enjoy a decided ſuperiority. To our coal, ſo pro-

fitable a branch of trade, and the trade ſo excellent a nurſery for ſeamen, they have no fuel to oppoſe, but wood and peat, which we too have in common with them. They have coal of an inferior quality in High Guienne, Flanders, and other places. Iron, copper, and lead-mines they have, but not to the extent, or in the perfection we have, ours having ſtood the teſt of ages, as inexhauſtible ſources of wealth. But the longeſt known, richeſt, and moſt famous, in which we excel all nations, are the tin-mines. They were known and traded to in the days of the Carthaginian naval greatneſs; but thoſe of them now wrought by us of modern times in Cornwall, were probably as little known to that people, as what were by them then wrought are now to us: What they wrought were not in the main land, but in the adjoining Scilly iſlands, to which they gave the name of Caſſiterides, of Greek extraction, from the tin they contained, now almoſt entirely ſwallowed up by the ſea.

Our breed of horſes, of the race and hunting kinds, are remarkably fine; the firſt tends to the corruption of morals in promoting luxury, gaming, and diſſipation: Both the firſt and ſecond kinds, in another reſpect, are not without their bad effects to the country, in the great extent of it they occupy, to the excluſion of other more valuable articles of com-

merce, and the labour beſtowed on them : The balance, they contribute to in our favour, is founded on falſe principles of political œconomy.

In the hardware, cutlery, earthen wares, we excel them, as they do us in the ſilk, and ſilk-velvet. In the cotton-velvets of Mancheſter, the balance lies as much in our favour, greatly contributed to by the invention of the curious machines, conſtructed on ſimilar principles with Sir Thomas Lomb's ſilk-machine at Derby, which, in leſſening the labour beſtowed on the manufactures, of courſe leſſens the price of them. The diſcovery of theſe machines to foreigners, will deprive us of the advantages we enjoy over them, and bring us to a level with them in the market. In the Seve porcelane, the advantage lies on their ſide ; on ours, in all the branches of leathern manufacture. In the Goblins, tapeſtry and lace manufactures, they have a decided ſuperiority, and till of late, had in that of the large looking-glaſſes, in which we now rival them, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages, our manufacturers have ſo long laboured under, impoſed by the act that lays the duty on the materials employed in the work, and not the work itſelf. In the other branches of the glaſs-works we excel them.

The ſtaple manufactures of both countries have ſuffered mutual encroachments from each other; the woollen is vied with in that of the Vanrobais, eſtabliſhed at Abbeville, under the protection of Colbert. This was the firſt in point of date in France, and ſtill is perhaps in point of excellence; there are others at Louviers, Elbœuf, Sedan, *&c.* But as long as our wool is not exported, openly or clandeſtinely, out of the kingdom, as the ſuperior quality of it, and the workmanſhip remain at their preſent pitch, there is little danger in the competition. The Spaniſh wool alone is uſed in the French ſuperfine cloths, except thoſe manufactured in Languedoc, but a proportion of it in moſt of ours: The high price of foreign materials overbalances the low rate of home labour, ſo, as in addition to the other advantages on the ſide of the Engliſh ſtaple commodity, to leſſen much the rivalſhip in the foreign market. The firſt ſevere blow their ſtaple, the ſilk manufacture received, which proved the beginning of ours, was the proſcription of the Huguenots. The diſcovery of Sir Thomas Lomb's machine at Derby, ſecured us ſucceſs in the rivalſhip.

The abolition of the tolls, thoſe fetters on the internal commerce, that interrupts it on the borders of the provinces and entrance into towns, the effects

of the gradual formation of the kingdom, enters into Necker's plan of reform, and with them that of the various clogs on manufactures. His political institutions are at length attended to, and now under the consideration of the Assembly of the Notables, that of Provincial Assemblies, with the suppression of the 20ths, alteration of the Gabelle, or tax on salt, and other burdens on the lower classes of the people, reform in the several departments of the State, infeoffment of the Royal domains, including the Royal forests for 99 years, &c.

A superior taste prevails in the cultivation of the fine arts in Britain, of late improved by Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty, and application to the admired models of the Etruscan Antiquities.

None of the least of the advantages on our side, is the exemption we enjoy from the burden of their standing army, and fortified frontier towns. 197,000 men, 31,000 horse, are the numbers of the regular troops, besides 6000 militia serving for six years, to which service all are liable, from five feet upwards, and from sixteen to forty years of age. In the garrison towns, for want of barracks sufficient, the regulars are distributed in the houses of the inhabitants, and furnished with fire, candle, linen and salt. Not to mention the drawback they

are on population, the injury they do manufacturing towns, in raiſing the price of proviſions, and the introduction of luxury into them.

The words of their countryman, the profound Monteſquieu, on both theſe heads, has had no effect on their councils. Of ſtanding armies, he ſays, "They are the ſource of national poverty, in the midſt of plenty; one nation giving way to the miſtaken policy of them, forces the reſt to follow the example in ſelf-defence; ſo the contagion ſpreads, becomes univerſal, and, at length, after all their fruitleſs exhauſting efforts, they find themſelves in the ſame ſituation, in reſpect of their relative ſtrength, as if they had agreed by general concert, not to keep a ſingle regiment on foot."

On places of ſtrength, his remarks are: That in the Roman Empire they increaſed, in proportion to its decline; they were unknown in the times of the Republic; the world was conquered without them: The Emperors begun them, the banks of the Danube were fortified, and other barriers gradually extended, as weak efforts to curb the irruptions of the barbarous nations. In no reign were they ſo multiplied as in Juſtinian's, when the government was the weakeſt, and the Empire almoſt altogether overrun. He, then, in his reflections, paſſes to mo-

dern hiſtory, to that of his own country, and ſays: It never was in a weaker ſtate than when all its ſmall towns were walled in and fortified, during the Norman and Engliſh invaſions. He further traces a ſurpriſing parallel, between ancient and modern hiſtory, in the irruptions of the Goths and Normans, both ſimilar in their cauſe and effect; in the one inſtance, the terror of the Roman arms, forcing back the nations on the North; and the North no longer able to contain them, nor the relaxation in the Roman diſcipline to repel them, poured them from its frozen loins, on the enervated inhabitants of the South: In the other inſtance, the oppreſſions of Charlemagne drove them back to the ſame latitudes, from whence they, a ſecond time, returned as the firſt.

Britain more fortunate in this reſpect, knows no other walls of defence raiſed by art, than her wooden walls, avails herſelf of no other ramparts or bulwarks, than what nature has furniſhed her with in the ocean that ſurrounds her.

Our marine and military hoſpitals, our marine ſociety, are great national and charitable inſtitutions, but exceeded far in number by thoſe of France, where in every conſiderable town, that has barracks for the quartering of troops, there is like-

wiſe an hoſpital for the ſick and lame ſoldiers and ſeamen, diſtinct from that for the infirm citizens; and the diſeaſed in the land and ſea forces travelling to any of theſe towns, and furniſhed with certificates, on producing them before the treaſurer of each town they paſs through, are defrayed their expences to the adjoining one, till they reach the place of their reſidence. Theſe excellent regulations ſoften the calamities of war.

We want their regiſter for ſeamen, as inadmiſſible in our free conſtitution: In France its effects are found pernicious, in the chagrin and diſguſt for the ſervice it occaſions. We from neceſſity ſubmit to the temporary ſacrifice of liberty preſſing, as tolerated by our common and ſtatute law, rather than this perpetual ſurrender of it, as the leaſt of the two evils.

The ſame ſpirit of travelling does not prevail in the French, or any other nation, that does in the Britiſh. Temporary reſidence in foreign countries often places us in the proper point of view to contemplate the real intereſts of our own: Contraſts, compariſons, reſemblances, and analogies are great criterions of truth in political ſcience; it happens frequently in reſpect of them, as of thoſe of morals, that the near relation they bear to us, effaces the

ſhades of difference between them, and ſuſpends the functions of the diſtinguiſhing faculty: It happens, in reſpect of the objects of both ſciences, as of viſual, that the too near approach confuſes and confounds the ſight, in the contemplation of them.

THE cauſes that excite this paſſion to ſuch a degree in our iſland, are, amuſement, inſtruction, health, buſineſs, œconomy. The indulgence of it is attended with its advantages and diſadvantages, both to the individuals, that yield to it, and the country they are natives of. The country ſuffers doubly, in what it loſes of the wealth of its inhabitants, and in what foreigners gain. Still if inclination, if the natural attachment to one's native country, are not ſufficient to retain its citizens within its limits, it is in vain that force is reſorted to, to reſtrain them; it is in vain to entertain the notion of converting a country into a ſtate-priſon. The gratification of the deſire to travel, in general, is the reſult of a propenſity common to us with moſt other nations, (though not given way to by them, often from inability, to the ſame extent) of ſatisfying a laudable curioſity of extending the views, enlarging the conceptions, ſoftening the manners, melting down all narrow prejudices and contracted habits in the character of the citizen of the world.

When ſuch are the fruits of travelling, they ſoon repay the loſſes ſuſtained by the country, in the abſence of its members, by the laſting impreſſions they leave on it, on their return. If ſuch fruits are but very rarely reaped from it, and we are told that, Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt; ſtill the poſſibility even, if not the probability, of a nation's deriving ſuch benefits from it, ſhould never be attempted to be excluded. As it is the ſcope of poetry to convey inſtruction in the moſt pleaſing dreſs, there are too celebrated epic poems, one ancient, the other modern, the Odyſſey and Telemachus, where the advantages are diſplayed attending viſits to foreign countries by princes, who, in ſo acquiring the knowledge of their laws, manners and cuſtoms, learn thence better how to govern their own. The praiſes of him are harmoniouſly ſung,

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, et urbes.

The people of antiquity travelled little, yet, among the moſt enlightened nations, the Greeks, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Solon, Plato, and their other learned ſages, viſited Egypt, there paſſed years in ſtudy, and thence derived to their country the arts and ſciences; a fruitful ſource of which proved the laws which Cecrops the Egyptian, and firſt Athenian king, introduced with him from his

native country. The Romans travelled into Greece, whence they firſt borrowed their laws, then their philoſophy and taſte in the fine arts. It is ſo the Engliſh Miltons and Addiſons, following the example of thoſe celebrated nations, with the ſame ſucceſs, have viſited in Rome the monuments of ancient Roman grandeur, have added to the ſuperior growth of Engliſh genius the cultivation and influence derived from other favourable climates: By the ſtudy of other languages, have aſſerted the freedom of their own, relieved it from the fetters of rhyme impoſed on it by its Gothic framers, as derived from their Rhunic ſongs. Thus Milton's lion paws to get free. It may have been in the ſeat of ancient Roman literature, with his mind fully poſſeſſed of the images it conveyed, that the idea firſt occurred to our Bard, of vindicating to his native tongue the liberty of the Latin, the ſtock on which, with the Celtic, the common primary ſource, it is engrafted, and the other modern languages of Europe: As out of the ruins of the empire are formed the greateſt part of the ſtates in which they are ſpoken, ſo in its language and laws, Rome ſtill ſeems to retain its dominion over the world.

Necker eſtimates the ſums ſpent by travellers in France in time of peace, at an average of thir-

ty millions a-year, conſidering it as one of the beſt branches of its commerce. No ſmall portion of this ſum is contributed to by the Britiſh, to the detriment of their own country, in the abſtraction from it of both their perſons and their property to ſuch exceſs as we ſee. The taxes are evaded by the abſent members of the State; conſequent deficiencies occur in the ſupplies raiſed for the exigencies of Government, which the reſident members are ſubjected to.

But if the branches of reform recommended were adopted, that numerous claſs of travellers that come under the deſcription of œconomiſts, would be kept at home. For what but neceſſity can induce ſuch numbers of Britiſh ſubjects to relinquiſh their own, to be naturalized in foreign lands; where, under far worſe governments, worſe climates many, ſome not better, if ſo good, and ſome few only preferable, in point of ſoil, ſcarcely any entering into competition, the inhabitants are retained by that attachment which connects all mankind with their reſpective native countries? What but bad policy can make our iſlanders renounce ſo ſtrong and natural a propenſity? In this Iſland, all things equal, all the means and conveniencies of life the ſame as in other countries, with its advantages of the ſecurity of property,

conſtitutional liberty, the reverſe ſhould hold, and its people, of all others, ſhould be the moſt attached to it, and with them ſtrangers.

War even and the droit d'Aubaine, when both conſpired, did not diſcourage the numerous and frequent reſort of our countrymen acroſs the channel. Now that both have ceaſed to affect us, in the liberal ſpirit of Necker's reform, the reſort, in proportion to the encouragements, muſt be increaſed.

From the abuſe, as well as exceſs of this ſpirit, have flowed the moſt pernicious national effects: From the gallantry and diſſolute morals of the court of Lewis XIV. that Charles II. during his exile, was ſo early infected with, and which, at the Reſtoration, he imported with him into the kingdom, is to be dated that depravation of Britiſh manners, and degeneracy of the national character at this day ſo widely diffuſed. To the ſame ſource are to be traced the humiliating meaſures of that reign, the ſale of Dunkirk, the ſtain he ſuffered in becoming tributary to the French king, the conſequent impolitic Dutch wars, with the diſgrace at Chatham, and other ſacrifices made to the prevalent maxim of the times, *Carthago eſt delenda.*

Nor was the corruption in thofe early days confined to the court, the reputedly moft virtuous and patriotic characters of the age, it appears, did not efcape the contagion: French gold, French intrigue, and fecret influence, found accefs every where; pervaded all ranks and denominations of men, embraced all parties. From which period downwards to the prefent, the evil has been continually fpreading, luxury progreffively increafing, the infection of example becoming daily more predominant, the communication more frequent and clofe with the country that has been the original of all our political and moral declenfion, that are fo intimately blended. Need we then be furprifed at the variety, magnitude, and extent of the ills complained of, when places of the higheft truft are objects of traffic, fet up to the higheft bidder; when merit no longer is looked to as a neceffary qualification in the difpofal of them, but preferable to it the venal garb. How can it be expected of thofe that by party fpirit, cabal and intrigue, infinuate themfelves into offices of dignity and truft, or who avowedly purchafe them, but that they will in their turn fell the people who firft fold themfelves, agreeable to all the rules of trade. It is this corrupt venality, this unnatural fpecies of commerce, that has brought us to our prefent fituation, that calls fo loudly for reform.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ, caput hoc et caufa malorum. Hence the fpirit of emulation and laudable zeal in their country's caufe, that actuated our anceftors, is converted into a fpirit of intrigue, gaming and horfe racing. Their martial exercifes and exploits are fucceeded by fcenes of diffipation, up from the public breakfaftings, through the card-affemblies, to the midnight revels of the mafquerade. No furer fymptom of Roman decay was there, than the venality of the public offices of truft. Virtue, the fpring and vital principle of the republic, was then totally extirpated. It is like the grievance felt and complained of in France, the venality of the charges. Here the parallel, already infifted on, between the once flourifhing, renowned Athens, and this empire, recurs, in the fortune that attended it, after its fall, at the clofe of the Peloponnefian war. When the national character was funk, the patriotic virtue exhaufted, then it was that that city was betrayed to the public enemy, by its demagogues and orators; the fecret influence of Philip penetrated into the councils of Greece, before he attempted its conqueft by open arms. It was by no rapid ftrides, or avowed declarations he proceeded; he wore the mafk that was to conceal his defigns, and did not difclofe them till ripe for execution. A main preparatory ftep and mafter-piece of policy, was his fecuring to himfelf a feat in the

national council the Amphictions. The consequent influence it gained him on their deliberations, joined with that on their leaders of the Macedonian gold, to the torrents of which corruption, that broke down all barriers, in vain was opposed the thunder of Demosthenes, at which he trembled, served as preludes to the decisive day of Cheronea.

REFORM.

IN this age of reform we live in, many are the objects that present themselves for the hand of the reformer, some, flagrant abuses calling aloud for the ax to be laid to the root of the tree, others, lesser errors that have crept in, standing in need only of the gentler touch of correction; but which, if altogether neglected, will prove like the secret worm in a hidden corner of the embankment, that, by gradually gnawing, and imperceptibly undermining, opens a way for the floods to enter, and inundating, bear all down before them. We have long since redressed our Religious grievances; it is for us now to remedy the State disorders. Let us now, at the same, or nearly the same period in this century, that the Revolution was effected in the last, proceed with our other Reformation, in it to complete the glorious work of the Revolution. Auspicious preludes, it is hoped, are the commission for the reduction of the national debt, the sale of the Crown-lands, the consolidating and simplifying the customs, excise and stamps.

In this Iſland, ſituated in a temperate climate, enriched in general with a fertile ſoil, where the united beauties of nature and art far ſurpaſs thoſe of all other countries, the bounty of nature, or rather the Author of nature, is not more conſpicuous in the barrier it is ſurrounded with, than in furniſhing it with all the materials to avail itſelf of that rampart: And that it might appropriate its famous oaks to that uſe alone, and not conſume it for fuel, in enriching its bowels with coal for all the comforts, neceſſaries, and elegancies of life, the works of art and induſtry; as materials for extracting chemical preparations from, as materials, in another and more direct manner, ſubſervient to naval purpoſes, for extracting tar from. In the ſame manner is its natural bulwark ſtored with inexhauſtable ſources of wealth and ſtrength, in the fiſheries, if it will but avail itſelf of them; and that it may, to them, as to the primary object of reform, the nation's moſt ſerious attention is entreated.

As a preliminary to this moſt important national object, the right claimed by a rival commercial people of fiſhing on our coaſts, merits ſome enquiry; a right, which however originally ill founded, they now fortify by the plea of immemorial preſcription. It has been the foundation of their maritime greatneſs. Moſt prudently have they profited of our in-

attention to the gifts of nature ſo liberally diffuſed around our coaſts. Largely have they reaped the advantage of it. Our ſeas, they avow, were their original mines, their gold mines: With theſe they withſtood the riches of the gold mines of Peru and Mexico. From the Britiſh Seas, they derived to themſelves the ſources of Britiſh liberty, in conjunction with the aſſiſtance, in its cauſe, afforded them by the Britiſh nation. Out of gratitude for which aſſiſtance, and the protection given their infant republic, they offered the ſovereignty of it to Queen Eliſabeth, which ſhe, with her characteriſtic magnanimity, declined the acceptance of. We who, at the time of the protection given them, in that glorious reign, were the diſcoverers of the Greenland whale-fiſhery, did not attempt to preclude the Dutch, and other nations from a ſhare in it; at the ſame time, that we cannot, or will not ſhare with them in the fiſheries on our own coaſts. The preſervation of the fiſheries is an object of the daily prayers offered up in the churches of Holland. While they have proved ſuch funds of wealth to our rivals in commerce, they have alſo been nurſeries of ſeamen, that have diſputed with us the empire of the ocean. Theſe are capital objects to a trading and warlike nation. Too late have we attended to them, unleſs by the rapid improvement of the internal navigation, in the propoſed canals that nature has ren-

dered ſo obvious, and ſo very practicable, the extenſion of bounties, erection of towns, with the aid of judicious regulations, we redeem the paſt errors, bring the trade into its proper channel, and ſo leſſen, if not altogether prevent the returns of our neighbours at ſtated times, to raviſh from us theſe our peculiar advantages, as they raviſhed from the ſea their plains.

In a period of our hiſtory, not very remote, Holland in its political ſituation with reſpect to Britain, was viewed in the ſame degree of rivalſhip, that Carthage was to Rome. It is well known what impolitic meaſures, how perverſive of our true intereſts this miſrepreſented parallel drew along with it ;—*Carthago eſt delenda* was the prevalent cry of the infatuated times. It is well if that maxim we were ſo influenced by, in the politics of laſt century, is not retorted on us in this by that nation, againſt which it was then ſo wantonly levelled, then when we were united with thoſe againſt it, it now is againſt us. With ſuch a complete reverſal of meaſures, ſo total a retaliation of alliances, a reverſal and retaliation of the maxim is naturally enough connected. But firſt it muſt compoſe its troubles, reſtore the old form of government, or ſubſtitute in its room a new.

THE consideration of this branch of their trade never entered into the competition, to which alone it should have been directed. In asserting the sole and exclusive privilege of fishing on our own coasts, we were supported by the law of nature and nations, by every maxim of sound policy and public expediency. There cannot be a doubt, but the nation would quickly take the alarm at the appearance of ships of war hovering about the coasts, and riding in an insulting manner in the Channel. If the crowded sails of Dutch vessels swarming round us, and their stated returns, are of no alarming nature, they surely cannot but appear as the plunderers of our just and lawful property, which we by our negligence have forfeited to their industry, only so long as we do not exercise the same. It is not on Machiavelian principles, that the merits of this question are to be rested; his views of interest, reasons of state, are not to be urged in its support, as it may be traced to far nobler sources of right. Not but what the Dutch system of policy would amply justify us in relying solely on such an authority, as they cannot avail themselves of any other, in acting in such direct violation of their learned Grotius's principles, by contending for a *mare clausum* on their own coasts, and obstructing the free navigation of the Scheldt; and, on the other hand, in conformity to

his views, in maintaining a *mare liberum* on our coasts, with a free navigation, and right of fishing there. Grotius is, at least, consistent in the principles he lays down—he aims at no *mare liberum* on the British, and a *mare clausum* on the Dutch coasts. So that his countrymen are reduced to the dilemma of adopting with him, on either side of the seas, a *mare liberum*, or with Selden rejecting it. For it is Machiavel only, and such principles as he inculcates, that can prompt our neighbours to side, so very inconsistently and contradictorily in this great question, with their own countryman at our homes, with ours at theirs.

To reconcile the contradiction, they may have recourse to the distinction kept in view between the sea and navigable rivers in the Dutch treatise; but that distinction could only stand them in stead, on the supposition, that the whole of the navigation of that great river was theirs exclusively, in consequence of an exclusive property enjoyed by them on both the sides of it, and towards the upper extremity in Antwerp, the great object of the navigation and contest for it.

THAT treatise, as the title prefixed to it bears, was written expressly with a view to a vindication of the free navigation of the Indian seas to the

Dutch, in opposition to the exclusive privileges claimed in them by the Portuguese. Through the whole of the dissertation the author makes a distinction between the main ocean, and the narrow seas; and while in the former he so strenuously insists on the uncontrolled, unlimited right of navigation and fishing; all that he contends for in the latter, is the sole right of navigation: And that too in his greater work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, he subjects to certain restrictions, tolls and customs, in favour of those nations that have facilitated it, in the erection of light-houses, placing of buoys; and by such acts, together with the command over them, given by the contiguous shores, have there established a kind of property. In neither of the works does he once touch on the British seas, or the resort of the Dutch to them, for the purposes of fishing.

SELDEN's error lies in not observing the same distinction, where, at the close of the first book, he asserts, that any sea whatever is capable of appropriation.

IN virtue of this right of maritime dominion, uniformly exercised by the British nation, from the earliest records of its history, for the preservation of it, as that author informs us, do we trace

in thoſe records the tax of the Daniſh Danegeld, the Norman aſſeſſments, levied on the Herring and White Fiſheries, whether reſorted to by natives or foreigners. Even the navigation of the Britiſh ſeas was ſubjected to tolls and cuſtoms; paſſports and letters of ſafe conduct were granted through them. Conſequently, in early times, the Dutch did not fiſh on our coaſts, without permiſſion expreſsly aſked and obtained; the ſize of the veſſels uſed by them in the fiſheries were by us regulated.

It is incontrovertible, that the uniform tenor of our hiſtory evinces the dominion exerciſed by the Britiſh kings over the ſurrounding ſeas in protections granted, laws impoſed, limits preſcribed, all founded in natural right, avowed by common and ſtatute law, fortified by immemorial preſcription. The Romans, while in poſſeſſion of this iſland, availed themſelves of the ſame maritime dominion.

Having thus prepared the way by this ſummary diſcuſſion of the point of right, let us now enter on that of facts and ſerious truths.

While there is an Engliſh, a St George's Channel, an Iriſh Sea, the Hebrides of Scotland, though three hundred in number, are in no charts dignified with

the appellation of Archipelago, in none described as situated in a Scottish Sea or Channel, but as Ultima Thule, in some remote neglected part of the world. With the navigable cuts, the establishment of fishing towns, proposed by Mr Knox, the sources of wealth derived from these hitherto dreary, waste and barren shores, would be inexhaustible. Where nature denies cultivation, under the influence of an inhospitable climate and soil, she has largely, even profusely, compensated the want, in rich iron and lead mines, mountains of marble and limestone, quarries of the finest slate, of granite, the most durable stone known in Europe, at the same time that it is capable of a polish like marble, in abundance of flint, marl, kelp, that valuable article in the glass-works, forests of the finest timber of different kinds, fir the prevalent. Nor are there wanting traces of coal and copper. Where the surface is barren, the bowels of the earth are rich; where both fail, the shores and surrounding seas afford inexhaustible treasures in the vast shoals of herrings, and abundance of the white fisheries. Notwithstanding all these important national objects; notwithstanding the course of the trade from Ireland, Bristol, Liverpool, and the whole extent of the western coast of Great Britain, lies in this direction, the Hebrides, and a coast of about four hundred miles along the main land, are left to the most perilous

navigation, at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a town, harbour, light-houſe, dock-yard, or ſhip-carpenter; without the means of ſaving a veſſel going to wreck, or of furniſhing a ſail, cable, or anchor, to one in diſtreſs.

The eaſtern coaſt, particularly what of it is waſhed by the Forth, lined with ſo many once populous flouriſhing towns, that, with ſuch ſucceſs, proſecuted the fiſheries, have ſo repeatedly ſuffered from the Engliſh depredations, during Cromwell's Uſurpation, and at other periods, and ſince the Union, have ſo manifeſtly and rapidly declined in that and every other branch of induſtry, as now to preſent but one continued ſcene of poverty and diſtreſs, imploring the aid of the Legiſlature to the re-eſtabliſhment of their former commerce. Nor other has been the fate of Dumfries and other towns ſtretching along the Solway Frith, and Mull of Galloway, that did not eſcape the general ruin and waſte of the kingdom. What mortifying reflections does this deſerted long extent of coaſt ſuggeſt, of 150 miles, including the curves, provided as it is, with ſo many natural harbours, in the centre of the three Britiſh kingdoms, and ſo well ſituated for the American and Weſt Indian trade. From the Mull of Galloway to the Clyde, there are as few traces of commerce, which completes the cir-

cuit of the northern deſert ſhores of the firſt Iſland in the univerſe.

The only way for it, and that a providential one, left to profit of the late great revolution, and the multiplied errors that led to it, to ſecure and improve the naval bulwark of theſe realms, is, throughout the whole extent of the Britiſh coaſts, more particularly the long neglected northern ones, where, at this day, is not to be found a dock-yard, that has furniſhed a ſingle ſhip of war for the Royal Navy, to promote, by every poſſible aid of the Legiſlature, the extenſion of the fiſheries, navigation, and ſhip-building: which laſt branches were ſo much encouraged in the colonies, to the unſpeakable loſs of the mother-country, as now only to be recovered by extraordinary patriotic exertions.

The revenue collected in the Highlands does not defray the expences of collection, and the declining trading and induſtrious part of the people are impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed to furniſh it, for the ſupport of the long, idle train of officers, of different deſcriptions, and not for the ſtrengthening of Government. It ſeems reaſonable to think, with all due deference, that a diſtinction ſhould be made in taxation between the two parts of the Iſland.

As an indemnification for the continued ſeries of diſcouraging meaſures, that, very far back in their hiſtories, the Southern neighbours have ſo unrelentingly purſued againſt the Northern, what remains for them to do, it would appear, is an almoſt total remiſſion of ſo ſcanty a revenue, that they are ſo exhauſted in the payment of; and the land, with ſome other ſubſidiary taxes, raiſed in Scotland, to be applied to the improvement of its fiſheries, navigation, agriculture, and manufactures: Agreeable to the ſuggeſtions of that patriotic reformer in civil affairs, who, though of the ſame name with him that led to reformation in religion, is of a far different ſpirit; not that of deſtroying, as his predeceſſor was actuated with, but the reverſe, building and improvement in all the arts.

The hiſtory of the Scottiſh commerce preſents an early riſe and rapid progreſs. Foreign writers mention a traffic in fiſh carried on by the Scots to the low countries, as far back as the 9th century; which firſt ſuggeſted the idea to the Dutch of fiſhing on the coaſts of Scotland. The oldeſt fiſheries recorded in the Britiſh annals, are the Yarmouth, dated from the year 495, now on the decline with the Scottiſh. The firſt check the latter met with, was from the obſtinate and bloody conteſts with England, in which the weaker kingdom ſo glorioully

maintained its independence. They revived with the civil wars of that country, till weakened by the union of the two Crowns, cruſhed again by Cromwall's depredations, after which, all attempts to reſtore trade were fruſtrated, in the failure of the Darien ſettlement, which was partially ſacrificed by William, to gratify his Engliſh and Dutch ſubjects. The union of the kingdoms ſoon following this fatal diſaſter, in which half a million was ſunk, beſides the many lives loſt, almoſt annihilated the faint remains of it: This laſt, and not the leaſt blow, it has at this day not been able to recover from, and without extraordinary exertions of Parliament never will.

The Royal Navy of Scotland, which, in the reign of James the IV. exceeded that of any of his contemporary princes; and at its head was the largeſt ſhip then in Europe, was but of ſhort duration, having been begun under James the III., it vaniſhed after the death of James the V. and with it the ſplendor and independence of the kingdom. So much is it drained of its ſpecie, that, inſtead of a million circulating at the Union, it, for many years, has not amounted to more than L. 200,000, by Mr Knox's account, half a million according to Dr Smith. Even that ſmall ſum, the firſt mentioned author tells us, is purchaſed in England at the an-

nual expence of L. 4000 by the Scottiſh banks, to maintain their circulation. London bills often ſell there at a premium of two *per cent.* After the creation of the Glaſgow-bank, it is ſaid the trade of that place doubled; after that of the banks at Edinburgh, the trade of the whole country quadrupled. A great advantage derived from the banks are their caſh-accounts, in bringing the whole ſpecie into circulation, ſuffering none of it to lie dead without intereſt. The Scottiſh merchants have the ſame advantage with the Engliſh of diſcounting bills of exchange, with the additional one of the caſh-accounts. But theſe practices, when carried to exceſs, defeat their ſalutary views. They are ſo when they exceed in the credit they afford the ſums, that without them would lie dead in merchants hands to anſwer occaſional demands. From that exceſs ariſe the ruinous ſchemes of drawing and redrawing, of late carried to ſuch a height. The increaſe of the number of banks, tends to check this dangerous ſpirit of adventure, and, in every reſpect, promote the national credit.

The riſe in the price of butchers meat, the greateſt advantage reaped by Scotland from the Union, is counterbalanced in the fall of the price of wool, ſince that event reſtrained to the Engliſh market,

instead of the general one of Europe, before open to it.

When such is the proportion of Scotland's specie to L. 18,000,000 in England, in Ireland to L. 1,600,000, there seems to be a necessity of its being treated, not as a source of revenue, but of trade.

All the three countries have been too deeply sacrificed to wild schemes of ambition, the fleeting pageantry of triumphs in the eastern and western hemispheres. If our unparalleled constitution so happily escaped the contagion of the riches of South America, in the rejection by Henry VII. of the proffered services of Christopher Columbus; the constitutional liberty there escaped only, while the eve of national bankruptcy was reserved for us in North America. Nor are we to be flattered that our losses in the west will be compensated by our possessions in the east; since from the monopolizing company there established did those very losses originate. The threepenny duty on tea, calculated for their benefit, first blew the flames of war, that raged through all the quarters of the globe, embroiling half Europe, and that did not end but in the dismemberment of half the British empire. That dangerous, burdensome monopoly cannot compensate

the diſmemberment, which, after founding its dominion in ſuch violence and oppreſſion, does not carry on ſo beneficial a trade, though clogged with ſuch expences to government, as the nation does with ſeveral European ſtates, Holland, Germany, Spain, and formerly Portugal. No compenſation is to be looked for from that quarter, to favour the importation of the productions of which many branches of the home manufactures are loaded with ſo heavy duties; nor from them who ſo often have come to Parliament for relief in their diſtreſſes, ſometimes when on the verge of bankruptcy. Merchants make as bad ſovereigns as ſovereigns do merchants. In Bengal, money is frequently lent to the farmers at 40, 50, and 60 *per cent.* and the ſucceeding crop is mortgaged for the payment. Such was the uſury in the Roman Proconſular provinces in the decline of the Republic. The whole ſyſtem of our eaſtern governments is but too Proconſular. Conſidered as nurſeries for ſeamen, our extenſive foreign dependencies are not ſo valuable as generally thought: The Aſiatic, African, and Weſt Indian latitudes, are unfavourable to the Britiſh conſtitutions, and the graves of thouſands: It is from our own coaſts ſtill the ſupplies are of theſe drains; on the neglected parts of them are the beſt remaining ſources of naval ſtrength, and next to them are what we ſtill retain on the American continent.

After ſuch irkſome details, what are the ſcenes of poverty, diſtreſs, inſupportable load of miſery, that preſent themſelves through the greateſt part of the Highlands, and no inconſiderable ſhare of the Lowlands! Struggling with all the rigours of climate, ſoil and ſituation, the natives ſinking under the burden, naturally look up to Government for relief; for governments, in much more rigorous latitudes, with greater natural diſadvantages to contend with, have, with a lenient and foſtering hand, reared populous cities, eſtabliſhed ſeats of commerce and induſtry, ſucceſsfully cultivated the arts and ſciences, formed growing empires, that may again from their frozen loins over-run the world. But, when our diſtreſſed fellow-ſubjects, inſtead of that relief their birth-right, from the ruling powers, either mediately or immediately ſet over them, meet with accumulated oppreſſions and wrongs, they are reduced to the deplorable alternative of ſtarving at home or emigrating abroad. Many thouſands have preferred the laſt as the leaſt of the two evils, obeying the rigorous laws of neceſſity, though at the expence of their liberty, and every thing dear and valuable to them in their native country, which all men, in all ages, but reluctantly part with for ever.

If the deluded adventurers that have, or are embarking in theſe viſionary and chimerical projects of

future happineſs from preſent want, knew only that they were but changing the ſcene of diſtreſs; that that they are about to engage in, differs only from what they have been familiariſed to in the exceſs of degree, with the aggravating circumſtances of the loſs of liberty, and their native ſoil, which are enjoyments that muſt ever ſweeten the bitterneſs of affliction, and infuſe healing and alleviating comforts into the midſt of ſurrounding cares and ſufferings: If they were aware only of theſe circumſtances, there would be the leſs occaſion for coercive meaſures to keep them at home in the duty they from their cradle owe their country, and allegiance to their Sovereign. But ſome kept in a ſtate of ignorance of the evils they are to endure, and only knowing what they eſcape from, allured by falſe hopes, and ſtill more falſe promiſes, fondly graſp at every imaginary ray of relief held out to their wiſhes, and groundleſs expectations. Others, not in that ignorance of their future miſeries, more than of their paſt and preſent, yet driven to deſpair here, are not left totally deſtitute of hope in the change elſewhere. And thus the contagion and delirium ſpreads to the monſtrous and alarming lengths we have ſeen. We have been drained of our people, firſt to eſtabliſh the colonies, then in our fruitleſs endeavours to keep them in ſubjection; and now, that both theſe ſources of depopulation have ceaſed,

a third opens in their ſtead, the continued and unremitting emigrations. The ſame infatuation ſeized the Iriſh in and about the 1728, which did not eſcape the ſeverity of Swift's pen: His Intelligencer exhibits the moſt ſtriking picture of the oppreſſions and diſtreſſes his deluded countrymen were emigrating to, which correſponds, in every particular, with the details of them of this day, that we are every where preſented with.

In former times, there were reſources for the famines, alleviations of the wants and miſeries, that in their viſitations ſo frequently and ſo ſorely afflicted theſe parts; but they were lawleſs and barbarous, the depredations the inhabitants committed on their more ſouthern neighbours. Theſe were happily put an end to by the Juriſdiction-Act; but that wholeſome regulation only removed the effect, and ſome of the ſecondary cauſes, without ſtriking at the root of the evil. It tended to civilize the Highlanders, in preventing their being robbers, freebooters, and plunderers, but left them to ſtruggle with the ſame wants as before, that made them ſuch, without any means of induſtry to conquer them. Hence, more pernicious effects ſtill followed from the prevalence of the ſame cauſes, a renewal of the ſame ſpirit of emigration, that raged in the laſt century, to the north of Ireland, under

the iron-rod of Cromwell's uſurpation, in the preſent to North America. In the lawleſs depredations, the country ſuſtained partial loſſes, one part of its inhabitants enriching itſelf with the ſpoils of another; in the emigrations, it ſuſtained a total and irreparable loſs; and what it loſt by them, its enemies and rivals gained. Ireland and America have, in theſe emigrants, found their moſt valuable manufactures and workmen, who, in return for the injuries received from their native land, have, in their ſeveral degrees, contributed to the independence of both on it.

When all other remedies for this inveterate ill fail, we have a reſource in the Prerogative Writ, analagous to one in the Frederician code, *nequis exeat regno*: A writ which, if the exerciſe of it is allowed to be, as ſurely it muſt, highly equitable and expedient, in the infancy of a ſtate, to prevent its total depopulation, it muſt no leſs carry with it the ſame powerful recommendation in an advanced ſtate of ſociety, where depopulation is to be apprehended from the exceſſive emigrations of its inhabitants. Nor other legal ſanction, than what this conſtitutional remedy affords, have the proclamations for their ſupport, that are iſſued from time to time for the prevention of our

ſailors from entering into foreign ſervice, and recal of ſuch as have entered.

But all other remedies have not been tried, and therefore have not failed; till then, it is not by a rigorous exertion of the Prerogative Writ, that further drains of the people are to be prevented; ſuch a ſtretch of power would prove but an unprofitable expedient for the redreſs of the grievances that the Juriſdiction-Act led the way to the extirpation of, but of itſelf was not equal to the taſk of complete reform. It is by affording ſubſiſtence to the famiſhed at home; it is by a diametrically oppoſite line of meaſures to thoſe hitherto purſued, that ſuch ſalutary national purpoſes are to be effected; that bleak and dreary ſhores are to be rendered cheerful and hoſpitable, extenſive tracts of waſte and gloom are to be viſited, and enlivened by the heart-felt rays of hope; that the lonely ſorrowful coaſt is to be comforted, the bowels of the earth, the depths of the ſea, are to be ſearched for hidden treaſures; that new creations are every where to riſe, throughout this once flouriſhing Iſle. The Eaſt and Weſt Indian trades ſink in importance to the Britiſh fiſheries; and yet it is only on the eaſtern coaſts, that in any period of our hiſtory they have been proſecuted with any degree of ſucceſs; on the weſtern, where incomparably the great-

eſt ſhoals ſwarm, after their ſeparation by the Shetland iſles, in their courſe ſouthward from the northern ſeas, from the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, and the inſurmountable obſtacles they encounter in the proſecution of them, they have ever been diſcouraged. During the laſt, and part of the preſent century, the Government afforded ſome temporary aids, towards the general extenſion of them; but all the projects proved abortive; and it is left for the glory of the preſent day to revive the attempt, it is hoped, with better ſucceſs. No object of ſuch magnitude can engage the attention of the Legiſlature. And to guide it in its deliberations, it has the reſearches of Mr Knox. To impair aught, or aught improve of his regulations, is only for a few choſen ones, who, uniting the good qualities of the head and heart, have lived the ſame laborious days; who, warmed by the ſame patriotic zeal, fired by the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour, honeſt emulation in their country's cauſe, ſoftened by the ſame pity for human miſery, and in alleviation of its ſufferings, have ſo penetrated the utmoſt receſſes of the weſtern ſhores.

The ſpirit and complexion of his plans are of the moſt liberal nature: He is for ſubſtituting aids and liberty in the room of bars and reſtrictions, ſuperfluous diſtinctions, inſolence, and abuſe of office, impo-

litic limitations in time and place: He is for the laws of Parliament to be regulated by the laws of Nature, proceeding on the principle, that all monopolies, and numerous reſtraints on trade, are conſtant obſtacles to its advancement, by the ſame rule, that fluids, when left to themſelves, ſoon find their level. He recommends the adoption of what are calculated and within our reach, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Dutch regulations, relative to the ſeaſons, methods of fiſhing, proceſs of curing and packing, as the Iriſh have wiſely done in their act of 1785. That riſing nation too has led the way, in the erection of fiſhing towns, to line the coaſt of Donegal with; Parliament, in 1784, having voted L. 20,000 for that purpoſe.

The encouragements offered by Government ſhould be of the moſt liberal nature: The Hebride fiſheries require it in a more particular manner, on account of the competition from Ireland and Sweden, the natural impediments they have to encounter, impediments that enhance their value to the ſtate. To the firſt of which countries there is every danger of the emigration of our fiſhermen, as formerly of our manufacturers, from the allurements held out to them from that quarter, and the difficulties and diſcouragements they ſtruggle with at home. Without more powerful aids from Government, it cannot be but that this ineſtimable branch of mari-

time greatneſs muſt remain in the ſame declining way, it has hitherto done, if not dwindle away altogether to nothing. While the rivalſhip from Holland, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, is ſuch, the reſtraining laws, expence of equipment ſuch, the Britiſh fiſheries muſt continue to decline; nor can they be reared, till put on a level with all the ſurrounding neighbours, in every point of liberality and encouragement. Another very important conſequence derived from theſe improvements, would be another ſhort and eaſy communication opened between the two iſlands from the Mull of Kintyre, of mutual advantage to both.

A GREAT object of the fiſheries is the ſupply, at ſo eaſy a rate, of ſo large a portion of the inhabitants of a country, that, in the moſt fertile years, produces not grain enough for its own conſumption, and in barren ſeaſons is drained of very great quantities of ſpecie, to ſupply its wants by importation. Fiſh, freſh and ſalted, and potatoes, would be the moſt nutritious and prolific food for extenſive diſtricts, to the great diminution of the conſumption of butcher's meat, with it of paſture-lands, and conſequent converſion of them into arable, a freſh ſource of wealth and population. It is further evident, that if with moderate profits, we go to the foreign markets, all things equal, our fiſhermen poſſeſſed of the ſame in-

duſtry, the ſame methods of fiſhing, curing and packing with the Dutch, as the fiſhery is ſo much nearer us, ſurrounding our coaſts, and proportional to its vicinity is the gain of time and labour, we ought to fit out, man and victual the veſſels employed in it at a conſiderably leſs expence than the Dutch, and with greater profit. We have the double advantage too of boat and buſs-fiſhing; they are confined to the latter. And, if with all theſe advantages we may not be able to underſel them in the foreign markets, it will be no inconſiderable gain to enter into competition in them, with now not only our rivals in commerce, but alſo in politics, ſince the breach of their alliances with us, and late cement of them with our neighbours.

The author of the Wealth of Nations, at the ſame time that he ſo ſucceſsfully explodes the mercantile ſyſtem of bounties in general, admits of an exception in favour of the fiſheries, as an object of national defence in the augmentation of its ſailors and ſhipping. The ſame author is well aware of the wretchedneſs of the Highlands, where he ſays, it is not uncommon for a mother there, who has borne twenty children, not to have two alive: With the induſtry he is equally well acquainted, in ſtating that more than a thouſand pair of Shetland ſtockings are annually imported into Leith; and that in that

iſland worſted ſtockings are knit to the value of a guinea a pair and upwards.

THIS iſland, from its ſingularly providential local ſituation, before all other nations, is to look for the expected fruits of its labours, when to theſe objects directed. It is ſurrounded by almoſt every ſpecies of valuable fiſh, in their ſtationary ſhoals, and periodical migrations from the northern ſeas. If the ſubjects of other kingdoms are on their own and our coaſts, reſtrained to periodical fiſhing, interrupted, and reſumed at intervals, with many and great difficulties to ſtruggle with in the temporary proſecution of it; Nature, or rather Providence, has diſpenſed with all obſtructions, whether of time or place, in favour of this: The fiſh offer themſelves on the coaſts at all ſeaſons.

THE year 1782 is that marked with the moſt diſmal and humiliating circumſtances in the Britiſh annals. It was the laſt of that diſaſtrous war, the American, when the ſun of Britain's glory was ſet, when our calamities abroad were at their height, and at home the cup of our miſery was full, in the famine that viſited the land, the fiſh that then for the firſt time left our coaſts.

As, in all human affairs, there is an ultimate point of elevation and depreſſion, in the Britiſh hiſtory, ſo near approaching each other, from which they reciprocally recede, in advancing or declining, it is to be wiſhed by every zealous patriotic Briton, that that may have been the æra of the ultimate declination of Britain's ſplendour, that her fiſheries, from their then loweſt ebb, from their then total ſtate of annihilation, in addition to the cruelties of war, the raging of the elements, the horrors of famine, may, with the returning peace of the ſucceeding year, in their renewal with redoubled vigour, have laid the foundation of the reſtoration of her glory ſo broad and deep, as to reſiſt the combinations of the univerſe againſt it. Nations, as well as individuals in the full tide of proſperity, are, for the moſt part, ignorant of themſelves, of their internal frame and reſources; and it is in the day of adverſity only, that both are, by experience, taught, that primary knowledge, brought back to a right ſenſe of their duty, and reſolved, as it were, into their firſt principles. The Author and Diſpoſer of all events, in his infinite wiſdom, prepares ſuch trains of circumſtances, as are to lead them out of their flattering deluſions, the labyrinths and intricate mazes of error, in which they lie involved, grovelling below, up to this vantage ground, this vertical point of all truth.

In ſuch a manner, has one part of this beautiful iſland been ſacrificed to the ambitious views of conqueſt entertained by the other, and both to the gratification of thoſe views, in a wide waſting dominion. Thus, has a nation, ſo long conſpicuous and independent, ſurmounting the natural diſadvantages of barrenneſs, availing itſelf of its natural advantages, and in conſequence of them proportionably flouriſhing with the ſurrounding nations, been retarded in the progreſs of its proſperity, drained of the means of an advancing cultivation by its ſiſter kingdom, whoſe intereſt it was, whoſe chief aim and ambition it ſhould have been, to have aided its improvement, and not left its nakedneſs expoſed to the ſport and ſong of her poets.

In that part of the united kingdom, where the commercial circulation, naturally languid, and ſtill more retarded by the joint operation of the phyſical and moral cauſes above remarked, the manufactures eſtabliſhed and eſtabliſhing round its centre, are, in their turn, ſo uniformly accelerating, that, were it to receive ſimilar impulſes at the extremities, from the fiſheries, that action and re-action between the two would then be produced, thoſe reciprocal and mutual returns of the blood, in the body politic from the heart to the members, and from them again to the heart, as would cauſe to ſpring an en-

tire new order of things, and brighten or relumine our ſo long clouded hemiſphere.

The exertions of an individual of the firſt rank in England, we have ſeen, led the way in the extenſive national benefits of inland navigation: Happy for the nation, if the proportional public ſpirit, of late diſcovered by the proprietor of the iſle of Herries, ſeconded by the aids of Government, ſhall be productive of ſimilar beneficial conſequences. The names of both merit inrolment in their country's annals, among the firſt of its benefactors.

What an object for Britain to make the Hebrides ſuch ſcenes of population and induſtry, as the Archipelago in its moſt flouriſhing days exhibited! Such an eſtabliſhment of the Northern Archipelago would ſoon rival in riches the Southern, and much more than compenſate the decline of the trade in the latter. The promotion of the fiſheries, abolition of monopolies, would increaſe, to an extent inconceivable, the tonnage of our ſhipping, already ſo rapidly on the riſe, from the additional carrying trade, our ſeparation from the colonies derives to us.

Such a happy arrangement of things muſt prove infallible means of raiſing our naval power to a pitch of greatneſs, hitherto unknown; and well it may be

on the riſe, ſince what it has to cope with, is much more than ever formidable, in conſequence of the extenſive alliances, combinations, confederacies, formed, and forming among the maritime powers on the continents of Europe and America.

WHAT if the humane and generous were ſpectators of the tragic ſcenes diſplayed on this wide theatre of human miſery, the recital of which in the pathetic ſtrains, that lately have met the public ear, in all hearers of that deſcription, is able to call forth the affections of nature, and awaken the tendereſt compaſſion. How many tribes of wretched beings have there to ſtruggle with famine, diſeaſe, nakedneſs, unable to ſatisfy the cries of nature; no age or ſex eſcapes the diſaſter, no voice exempt from the lamentations that frequent theſe ſolitudes, and pierce the dreary glooms: Gray hairs and youth, the orphan and the widow, all involved in one common ſuffering. Who of this deſcription, at this diſmal relation, how much more at the ſight, is not ready to cry out, "O that this Great Iſle would be to theſe leſſer, if the expreſſion may be allowed, its attendant ſatellites, as is to it the great luminary round which it moves, from which it receives light and heat; by whoſe ſovereign vital rays it is cheered! Then would the multitude of the Iſles rejoice."

Our Newfoundland fiſheries have not only ſuffered great encroachments in the late treaty of peace; but the tenure of what remain to us of thoſe banks, is every day becoming more precarious. The poſſeſſion of them was a deſirable object to attract the attention, and employ the induſtry of a naval power; but not ſo entirely to engroſs its views, as to occaſion its overlooking the valuable banks on our own coaſts, that ſo abundantly teem with the ſame kinds of fiſh. If thoſe ſo much nearer banks are, even at this late hour, taken advantage of, at the ſame time, that they will prove the means of extending that branch of our trade, of increaſing the nurſery for ſeamen, they will be ready to ſupply the loſs of thoſe more diſtant Trans-Atlantic ones, at whatever period we may be deprived of them, as we have been of ſo many of our other poſſeſſions in that quarter of the world.

At length patriotic zeal is rouſed to the contemplation of theſe important objects; the legiſlative ſuperintendence and protection is promiſed them. If late has been beſtowed on them that direction and encouragement which alone could advance them to maturity, let not the progreſs now made towards the attainment of them be proportionably ſlow, but by large and rapid ſtrides. Theſe great ends once

attained, we are not to deſpair of the Republic, that were to argue weak and degenerate minds. We have ſtill reſources enough left, whereon to build new hopes of aggrandiſement, to reſt the foundation of the revival of former ſplendor.

* * * *

In the mean time, the works at Dunkirk, Cherbourg and Havre, are vigorouſly proſecuted: The firſt well ſituated for the annoyance of our trade, with its privateers, in war: Cherbourg opens another ſcene. The whole of the French coaſt lining the Channel is rendered unfit for harbours, from all its openings being filled with ſand, by the violence of the weſt winds it is ſo much expoſed to. The object of the works here renewed is to remedy this natural defect, to ſecure a ſafe anchorage, under cover of a great extent of batteries, for powerful armaments ready to oppoſe to ours, on ſudden emergencies, from the oppoſite ſhores, to infeſt our trade, bar the defence of our foreign ſettlements, or favour a deſcent on our coaſts. It was the conſideration of the works in theſe alarming points of view, that occaſioned our ſucceſsful deſcent there in the war of 1756, for the purpoſe of raſing them,

which was effected, and the ſtores carried off. The ſame jealouſy we have ever entertained of the reparation of Dunkirk harbour and baſon, the demolition of which we have been ſo anxiouſly bent on. The projected baſon at Havre has the ſame objects in view, the increaſe of the rival naval power in the Channel.

If under the great Chatham, the deſcent at Cherbourg was ſo ſucceſsfully conducted, when Britain's glory reached its ſummit, it is for his ſon, in order to raiſe us as near, as may be, that height, as he cannot prevent the reparation of thoſe works under his father's auſpices demoliſhed, to counteract their intended effect, not by raiſing ſimilar land-batteries round our ſea-ports, as was agitated in Parliament 1786, but by ſtrengthening our floating batteries, for the better enabling us to avail ourſelves of our natural bulwark the ſea. This is to be done by the encouragement of the growth of ſhip-timber, by freſh ſupplies to ſucceed the great waſte that the valuable oak-foreſts have ſo long ſuffered: The American ſupply, by an unnatural turn in human affairs, is loſt to us, and gained to new allies; with this view, the acts of Parliament relative to the growth of ſhip-timber ſhould be reviſed, where neceſſary, altered or amended, and in all

points enforced. The bark even is a capital object for the tanneries.

If England furnishes the hull, why may not Scotland the mast, both parts of the united kingdom thus uniting in the accomplishment of the great object of their joint defence? It is believed, that there are to be found masts in abundance for the first rate men of war downwards; but supposing there should not be supply sufficient of that size, is it not a national object, a leading one in political œconomy, thence to furnish the inferior rates, the merchantmen, all the denominations of trading vessels? If they are inaccessible in most places at present, for want of roads, do not the same objects point out the evident necessity of making roads to them through rocks, over mountains, by mining, by all the means possible? Will it be said, that political œconomy dissuades from such expensive methods of access, even to so great sources of national wealth, and urge the preferable resource in going in quest of Norwegian pines, across seas, through the Sound, up the Baltic. It shall be taken on the supposition for a moment, that it is more profitable to depend on the foreign, than the home supply; is it no object of national importance, the circulating the balance of the expence in the Island, rather than out of it, and so diminishing

the balance of trade, now ſo much againſt us in that quarter? Is it none to be independent of all accidents, in peace or war, of others, and they too in a jealous latitude, where the armed neutrality originated, ſolely relying on ourſelves for the ſupply of this indiſpenſibly neceſſary article to our exiſtence as a people? But how does the account of expences ſtand? Is it leſs expenſive than the blowing ſome rocks, in aid of the navigation of rivers for floating the timber, or obtaining acceſs to it by land, to fit out veſſels for a long voyage, run the riſk of ſhipwrecks, pay toll at the Sound, pay inſurance, be ſhut up half the year in the Baltic by ice; add to all theſe obſtacles in peace, the additional riſk in war of the enemy intercepting the very ſupplies that are to enable us to cope with them? Or if all theſe impediments, natural and artificial, in the foreign trade, are attended with leſs inconvenience, leſs coſt to private adventurers, than the internal, ſtill is it, ſuppoſing it ſo, and a wild ſuppoſition it is, more profitable to the nation? Again, in that point of view, will it be contended, that the nation's gain, in the exchange of the home for the foreign trade, would be overbalanced in the loſs it would ſuſtain in the diminution of the Baltic trade, as a nurſery for ſeamen; it is anſwered in the negative, if the fiſheries are encouraged

proportionably, or more than proportionably, for there need be no limitation to its decreaſe.

If it is further urged in favour of the Baltic trade, that its ſole object is not the Norwegian pine, but with it variety of other naval ſtores, hemp, tar, iron; the ſame argument that is conclusive againſt the importation of the one production, is equally ſo againſt that of all the reſt, that the climate and ſoil of this Iſland, by any induſtry of ours, can furniſh us with. Let us then raiſe hemp ſufficient for the ſupply of our arſenals, and let us enquire into the ſtate of the iron trade. Of about 64,000 tons of iron annually manufactured in Britain, 53,000 it is computed are foreign; why in this reſpect too, we ſhould be ſo inattentive to national intereſts, of which ſuch abundant national ſupply may be had, does not appear, and partakes of the iron age; eſpecially as the qualities of the native are ſo excellent, being tough, durable, eaſily wrought, and fit for every purpoſe, except farming utenſils and horſe-ſhoes, its texture not being ſo cloſe as that of the foreign, to render it as laſting, when expoſed to much colliſion or friction: If it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary in theſe branches, to theſe, and theſe alone, ſhould the importation be reſtrained, if not altogether found inexpedient.

Our mines and minerals are great ſources of wealth; a late important diſcovery has ſet their value in a new and ſtriking point of view, the property of pit-coal to convert pig into bar-iron. By proſecuting to advantage this diſcovery, we ſhould not only ſupply ourſelves with this valuable article, but ſhare at leaſt the exportation of it with the Swedes, if not by being enabled to underſel them in foreign markets, engroſs it. For we ſave the proceſs they muſt ſubmit to, the preparation of the materials for this work, the charring the wood in addition to the hewing, which of itſelf is a more difficult operation than the digging the coal out of the pit is: what they loſe in time and labour, we gain.

Besides this great advantage derived from the uſe of coal, there are ſeveral others, as the extracting of tar, that other valuable article in ſhip-building, too valuable much to be monopolized; with various chemical preparations, as vitriol from the ſulphur, ſal ammoniac, which has the ſame properties with hartſhorn, or is another name for that and volatile ſalt, from ſoot, phoſphorus from burnt coal; and bituminous oils are found in the pit. Such are the ſubterraneous riches of this kingdom, far more valuable than all thoſe of Peru and Mexico, if we will but avail ourſelves of them. There is not any

ſpecies of coal-work that is not a ſource of national wealth, as there is none where time and labour are unprofitably conſumed; in every proceſs relative to them, there is gain of both, and in every ſtage of every proceſs. Add to all theſe conſiderations, that weighty one, that in proportion to the multitude and extent of the advantages ariſing from this branch of trade, will be its increaſed circulation, and with it that of our beſt nurſery for ſeamen. What inducements all theſe great gains to ſearch the bowels of the earth, for materials uſed in ſhip-building, of importance itſelf, ſufficient to rouſe all our attention, and keep it ſtedfaſtly directed to ſo capital a national object. Further, the proceſs of extracting tar from coal is a preparation of it in its then charred ſtate, for making pig-iron. We have ſeen the ſucceſs our exertions have been attended with in the caſt iron-works, let us tranſfer the ſame induſtry, in hopes of the ſame ſucceſs, to the other branches of the pig and bar-iron; let it alſo be enquired, whether the corniſh white metal is equally, or more fit for ſheathing ſhips with than copper.

The great object of theſe ſeveral branches of reform is added to the decreaſed balance of imports, and proportional increaſed balance of exports, conſequently of wealth, the internal ſupply of all the

requiſites eſſential to the formation of the baſis of our national exiſtence, not to ſay importance. From a reliance on the never failing reſources within ourſelves for them, ariſes much of our independence of the accidents of time and place, bars of nature and art thrown in the way of their recovery from abroad, of nature in the frozen Baltic, of art, either in the combinations of the Baltic powers, not probable, precluding us from them, or in the event of war in our vigilant enemies intercepting them.

LAND batteries, ſuch as were propoſed for our ſafety, are not ſufficient to guard us againſt attacks from within or from without; from without, as they would too much divert our attention from the ſea batteries, the only ſafeguards againſt attempts from that quarter; from within, as our liberties are in moſt imminent danger, whenever ſome thouſands of troops are collected in one place, for the manning of ſuch works. We cannot be ſo fortified as not to be vulnerable in ſome part; if not in all, in none, as a landing once effected, none of our fortifications but may be taken, and turned againſt ourſelves to maintain the landing. Yet the principal dock-yards require fortifying, as the deſtruction of all or any of them is irreparable. Nor is it only from the open attacks of the enemy they are to be protected, but alſo from the ſecret traitor

lurking within, with a torch in his hand, ready to confume in a moment the work of years, and what years cannot recover or reftore. Such traiterous attacks we have been too often facrificed to already.

If one of the powers in league againft us, burnt both Portfmouth and Plymouth in Richard the Second's reign; if in Charles the Second's, another of them occafioned the difgrace at Chatham; and their admiral Van Tromp, with a broom at his top-gallant maft, in derifion, fwept the feas; if in the American war the combined fleets of the branches of the houfe of Bourbon rode in an infulting manner in the Channel; and in the very entrance into Plymouth harbour, took one of our fhips of war, what may not be apprehended from a combination of the three, when, in fuch embarraffed circumftances, they find us, if in fo far better, we were fo vulnerable to their feparate attacks, in the moft effential points of intereft: May we not fear, if not more attentive to our interefts, left our hiftory ends as it begins, with an invafion, and that from the fame quarter, by a people under the fame dominion with us, at the time of it, and equally ambitious with thofe mafters of the old world, of becoming the conquerors of the new?

The next fubject of reform that prefents itfelf, and, like the laft, fubdivided into parts, is taxation.

In finances, as in the complete circle of the arts and ſciences, ſimplicity is the height of refinement. An exceſs of refinement is as bad as a total want of it. The OEconomiſts of France, in conſidering land as the only ſource of taxation, are in the one extreme of refinement in finance, and we, in our preſent complicated ſyſtem, are in the other, of departure from it; and as all extremes are to be avoided, the due medium between the two, is the great deſideratum in politics. Such exceſſive taxations as ours, ſo complicated and various, ſo diffuſed and diverſified, is the expedient reſorted to in the impolitic legiſlation of all weak ſtates, as the momentary prop of a crumbling edifice. The conſolidating the cuſtoms and exciſe, it is truſted, will happily lead the way to the diſentangling us from the intricate mazes we are ſo deeply involved in, and prove favourable beginnings of the great work; for much remains to be done, after theſe objects are accompliſhed. For our guidance in the completion of the work, two leading rules require to be adhered to; one is that of the three great ſources of revenue, wages, profit, rent, the laſt is the principal; the other is, that the luxuries, not the neceſſaries of life are the great objects of taxation.

After exhauſting luxuries, the reſiduum of taxation, in paſſing lightly over the neceſſaries, wages,

and profit, as ſubſidiary reſources, ſhould finally reſt on rent. If this principle is right, it leads to a diſtinction between the luxuries and neceſſaries.

Of the firſt claſs are play and opera houſes, taverns, and ale-houſes, coffee-houſes, and, in general, all places of public amuſement, and public debauch. Cards, dice, wines, carriages, men-ſervants, coffee, tea, chocolate, foreign ſpirituous liquors, home and foreign luxurious articles of dreſs, confectionary, perfumery, toys, jewelry, plate, ſugar, tobacco: With theſe may be claſſed, as ſubjects of taxation, the emoluments of office.

But quite diſtinct from theſe, of a quite different nature, and as ſuch, for the relief of the labouring poor, and encouragement of manufactures, exemptions from taxation, ſhould be deemed ſalt, ſoap, leather, candles, coal, though the deficiencies occaſioned by ſuch exemptions ſhould fall on land, as the only reſiduary productive fund. The poſting and horſe-taxes, as checks to agriculture and inland commerce, might alſo yield to other reſources. In this plan, there is no ſacrifice intended of the landed to the mercantile intereſts, as has been too uniformly the governing principle of adminiſtrations for ages paſt, and which is the main ſpring of all the national ſufferings. The reverſe, there is no ſacrifice of

either meant, but the joint and mutual proſperity of both. The freer the circulation of trade is, the greater the value of land, its baſis. Both, in the preſent ſyſtem of things, being much burdened, neither, in the ſharing of the burden, bring a proportional relief to the other, but alike languiſh under the impoſitions. The other way, what immediate loſſes landholders would ſuſtain, would be amply repaid them in the enhanced value of land, flowing from an accelerated free circulation of trade. In diffuſing taxation into ſuch a multiplicity of channels, the relief held out to the landholder is only fictitious, as on him, in general, the burden finally reſts: by removing then, the deception, truth only prevails, and things are placed in their natural order: State and individual equally gain by the reform, in the diminution and converſion to better employments, of the numerous trains of revenue officers. The State-machine ſeems thus no longer of that intricate complicated ſtructure, wheel within wheel, the motion of one clogging and counteracting that of another, but reduced to the cleareſt and ſimpleſt principles.

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The remaining branches of reform are more in detail, leſs of the aggregate nature than thoſe are

that have been difcuffed; and firft of them, and that calls loudeft for public attention, are the Poor Rates, wonderfully perverted from their original inftitution, as funds allotted for the maintenance of the difcarded Monks, on the abolition of the monafteries at the Reformation. The profound author of the Wealth of Nations has fo fully difcuffed this fubject, put it in fuch a variety of lights, with fuch accuracy traced the rife and progrefs of the laws relative to it, pointed out their defects, abufes in the feveral ftages, and the neceffary remedies, that there is no room for either amendment or addition.

It is to be obferved only in general, that if other proofs were wanting, the immenfe number of poor and profligate, would amply evince our declining State. That the general prevalence of luxury, the defect of police, frequency and licentioufnefs of little ale-houfes, which fhould be difcouraged by raifing the tax on the licences taken out for them, all, in their feveral degrees, confpire to produce the poverty and mifery of the lower claffes of people, is a truth equally ferious and palpable. The millions raifed for the poor rates, to the great oppreffion of the fubject, embezzled and mifapplied by the managers and overfeers, chiefly fquandered at law, in difcuffing fruitlefs queftions about fettlements, and not a little in furnifhing out their feafts, experience

ſhews are inadequate to the end, and only aggravate the evils they were meant to remedy.

The laws of ſettlement and corporations, as they check the free circulation of labour, violate natural liberty and juſtice, create more poor than the rates, enormous as they are, are equal to the maintenance of: They are the corrupt parts of our conſtitution, the moſt flagrant abuſes in it: They are beſides, the laws of ſettlement at leaſt, ſimilar ſources of civil war with us, to the Gabelle and Provincial bars to the free circulation of internal commerce in France. Here then, let the ax be laid to the root of the tree. The repeal of the laws of ſettlement, might be accompanied with that of the excluſive privileges of corporations, ſtatutes of apprenticeſhip, all ſeveral encroachments on natural, without promoting civil liberty, unknown to the ancients. What then remains to complete the ſyſtem of Britiſh liberty, is to extend it to every branch of inland commerce, in the promotion of the uninterrupted circulation of labour, by the removal of theſe its chief bars and reſtraints; for which great end, it is hoped, the wiſdom of Parliament is now employed.

The more liberal the ſyſtem of the corn-trade, as every other branch of commerce, the more poli-

tic: But that ſpecies of liberality diſplayed in the bounties on exportation, ſeems national waſte and profuſion; and what is more conſonant to political œconomy, is that lately adopted by the Emperor of Germany, and now in agitation in France. Any regulations deemed indiſpenſably neceſſary in this branch of commerce, ſhould be uniform throughout the united kingdom.

The code of penal laws require a reviſal and reformation, which in their preſent ſtate derive but too much of their ſpirit and complexion from the bloody inſtitutions of Draco, powerfully combated by More and Beccaria, and weakly defended by Hales and Puffendorf.

Is there no alternative between capital puniſhments and tranſportation for thefts and leſs atrocious crimes? Is there no ſubſtitution, in the room of both, of the Roman ſervi pœnæ in this land of liberty? Is the air of it too free alſo for ſuch a ſpecies of ſlaves to breathe, thoſe that by their crimes have forfeited their freedom? Monteſquieu does not attack this mode of eſtabliſhing ſlavery, at the ſame time that he ſo juſtly condemns it on all the grounds urged in its ſupport by the Civilians, Puffendorf, and others; on the contrary, it merited his ſanction, as it has received that of Beccaria.

If then legally and constitutionally, if consistently with humanity, we may adopt such a mode of punishment, instead of others written in characters of blood, there is no want of room for the employment of the criminals, either in the works above or under ground, or both, so fatal to the human constitution, to which they are fitter sacrifices to be devoted, than more valuable lives. There is besides ample scope for their labour in the port of London, the first in the world, the navigation of which is now so interrupted by shoals. And here let it be observed, as most applicable, that if the Lord Mayor, who, by chartered right, is appointed Conservator of the Thames, will not exert his great privilege to national advantage, the controlling power of Parliament might interpose its authority with adequate remedies.

Another instance of neglect is the want of an hospital, on an extensive and liberal plan, for the aged and disabled sailors in the merchant service, such as Greenwich is for the Royal Navy.

Let us attend to the improved regulations in the Post-office, and in this view the late partial may serve as introductory to the total abolition of franking. The establishment of this Office, as it

is one of the firſt, ſo it is the beſt of the revenue inſtitutions. It had its riſe in the civil wars of Charles the Firſt's reign, nor ſince that period has the wiſdom of Parliament been able to deviſe a law, that ſhould at once ſo eſſentially contribute to the advantage of the revenue, and eaſe and profit of the ſubject; both are equally gainers by it. It is not ſo obvious then how it ſhould have occurred to legiſlation to deviſe an exemption from the ſmall duties, or rather acknowledgments, for taxes they cannot be called, that the public pay into this office, for the great advantages they derive from Government's ſo ſmoothing the wheels of inland commerce, and facilitating the intelligence and correſpondence between all parts of the kingdom: Nor is there room for it in theſe times of urgent neceſſity.

Let us baniſh all Scythian barbarous notions of extenſive paſtures, and with them all our wild ſchemes of depopulation; a phrenzy which time and ſad experience muſt cure us of, if no ſober advice will have the effect, when too late it will be found, that the more flocks and herds there are, the fewer people muſt remain to wear the wool, and eat the fleſh. Swift ſays, in his endeavours to reclaim the Iriſh from this fatal error, that Ajax was mad when he miſtook a flock of ſheep for his

enemies: But we ſhall never be ſober until we have the ſame way of thinking. See Sir Thomas More's Utopia, in beginning.

WITH theſe improvements, may a reviſal and reduction of the penſion liſt take place, and only ſuch retained on it as are proper objects of royal munificence; and may the public money be perverted to no private views; all uſeleſs ſinecure places, as enumerated in Mr Burke's bill, aboliſhed.

A MEASURE of expediency is the extenſion of a militia to the nothern part of the united kingdom, united in that, as well as in every other reſpect, all invidious diſtinctions aboliſhed. Such a general militia, with a reſpectable naval force, will admit of more than a proportional reduction of that unconſtitutional inſtitution, a ſtanding army. This branch of reform, though the laſt here treated of, is not the leaſt important; as on it chiefly depends not only our united efforts, conſtitutionally exerted in defence of the country againſt foreign attacks; but alſo againſt civil broils, inteſtine diviſions and convulſions, with the preſervation of that balance of power, which well poiſed, and kept in due equilibrium between the two parts, conſtitutes the welfare and proſperity of the whole iſland; and which once deſtroyed by

the more aſpiring and encroaching neighbour, involves both alike in the ſame ruinous conſequences.

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A DUE attention to theſe and ſimilar objects of political œconomy, might yet ſave, yet recover the State: Could we but add to the liſt public virtue, the chief of all the deſiderata. But that is ſcarcely to be looked for in theſe degenerate days of luxury. Still an invariable regard had to theſe our remaining reſources, with what portion of that good is yet ſurviving, if any there is, or if none, ſtill is the experiment to be made what they of themſelves can operate towards our relief, in mitigating the heavy and almoſt inſupportable burdens impoſed on a declining State, in contributing to the repeal of the impolitic taxes our manufactures ſo generally labour under, our trade is ſo univerſally fettered with, and in preventing their further extenſion. But we muſt not heſitate too long in the application of the remedies; for while we procraſtinate and live from day to day on expedients, the ſhip is ſinking: *Deliberat Roma, perit Saguntum.*

BUT to awake at length from all golden dreams of proſperity, to break aſunder the bands of all flat-

tering delusions, it remains that, in proportion to what diminution our external strength already has, or still may very probably receive, we improve to the utmost advantage our internal, by every exertion bestowed on the waste lands and fisheries.

LET us look forward and anticipate events; let no new lights burst upon us on the spur of the occasion, but we are to be prepared to meet and combat the blow from whatever quarter, and at whatever time it comes; not like the unskilful boxers, Demosthenes compares the Athenians to, that apply the defence only to the wounded part. So we shall in some measure control remote contingencies, and not thus be perpetually harassed and surprised, kept in constant alarm, by their sudden and unexpected arrival.

THOUGH complete reform is not of the growth of this age or country, nor does the British soil and climate seem favourable to its propagation, still the culture of it ought to be the object of the anxious wishes and earnest endeavours of every zealous lover of his country; with what care and industry can be bestowed on it now in its infant state, till reared to that maturity that will enable it to make those shoots, that are to compensate the labour and attention it now receives.

Warned by these examples, let Britain watch over the preservation of her civil and religious liberties: Let her be aware, that all things in the moral, as the physical world, carry in them the seeds of corruption, circumscribed by space and time, verge to decay. The fabric of her constitution so excellently constructed in all its parts, and all the parts so harmoniously conspiring to the formation of the whole, the admiration of the world, must have its period of dissolution. That is only to be retarded by an adherence in its constituent members to virtue, the principle on which it is founded. But the decay of that principle in the body natural from the prevalence of luxury, is hastening the decline of the constitution in the body politic.

The principle of honour will operate to support the Government in the neighbouring kingdom in the midst of national depravity and corruption; and when the period comes, which seems not far distant, that we shall have no principle in our constitution to oppose to that of theirs, then it is that all the advantages they enjoy over us will have their full effect against us.

What fatal effects have arisen from the jealousy of trade, that, in sacrificing to it, two great and powerful nations should have wasted so much blood

and treaſure ; in the gratification of it, how much of their flouriſhing ſtate have both impaired, nor in their mutual conteſts do they ſeem to have looked on each other with other eyes, than as if the exiſtence of the one was incompatible with the ſafety or credit of the other.

The Grecian Republics, in the inſtitution of the Gymnaſia, the Olympic, Iſthmian, Pythian, Nemeæan games, cheriſhed virtue in the breaſts of their citizens, the principle of their conſtitution, animated them with an heroic ardor, and generous ſpirit of emulation, that blazed out in ſuch diſtinguiſhed achievements on the glorious plains of Marathon, at the ſtraits of Salamis and Thermopylæ. The Romans, to inſpire their citizens with the ſame virtuous and patriotic zeal, rouſe in them the ſame noble enthuſiaſm, trained them in the exerciſes of the Campus Martius, placed the images of their anceſtors in the porches and veſtibules of their houſes, carried them at their funerals, to their memory inſtituted funeral games and orations, that each ſucceſſive generation, in the contemplation and recollection of thoſe repreſented, might be fired with an emulation of their heroiſm and patriotic worth.

What remains for us to ſubſtitute in the room of ſuch incentives to excellence, is the remembrance

of what we have been. Spaniſh Armadas we have defeated, French invaſions fruſtrated. Let us ever have in view the glorious fields of Creſſi, Poitiers, Azincour, Blenheim; ever recal to mind, our Edwards and our Henries, Marlboroughs and Hawkes, with all the long train of Britiſh heroes.

Add to the recollection of thoſe renowned names, the contemplation of the nobleſt monument of national magnificence, now exiſting in the univerſe; and that diſplayed in its extent, the grandeur and ſublimity of the architecture, the happy choice of its ſituation, on the banks of the richeſt river in front, with ſuch a back ground, formed by fine hanging woods and lawns, in full view of the entrance into the port of London, the firſt alſo in the world, that the mariner entering and returning, in the contemplation of the elevating object, may be inſpired with gratitude and zeal for his country, that has ſecured to him ſuch an aſylum and retreat in his old age, when diſabled and infirm, worn out in its ſervice, as ſurpaſſes the palaces of princes.

While contemplating paſt examples of patriotic virtue and courage, ſtanding on record, we are not to be unmindful of the living. Above all, may not merit lie neglected, and intereſt, cabal, intrigue, run away with the honours and rewards due to it. No

longer to our diſcredit, may the hero of the Serapis, and famed Gibraltar's rock go unnoticed, unrewarded.

To return from living merit, to the memory of the departed ornaments of Britiſh annals, let not the walls to it conſecrated, be proſtituted to the reception of the remains of players. If Atterbury, in the moſt elegant claſſical apoſtrophe of modern times extant, has addreſſed the ſhade of Chaucer, in terms conciliatory of his indulgence, for the approach, as the remaining ſupport to his ſide of Philips's aſhes; were the ſpirits of our Shakeſpeares and Miltons to riſe, and in the general wreck of the evil days on which we are fallen, view thoſe walls monumental of their fame, nor hallowed with their aſhes, incloſing thoſe of bands of players, amid the choirs of Bards, how would the Muſe of Milton exclaim:

> " Fame is no plant that grows on mortal ſoil,
> Nor in the gliſtering foil
> Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies,
> But lives and ſpreads aloft by thoſe pure eyes,
> And perfect witneſs of all judging Jove;
> As he pronounces laſtly on each deed
> Of ſo much fame in heaven, expect thy meed."

Lycidas.

Shakeſpeare would ſee his urn honoured in the ſacrifice made to it of Garrick's remains, at once a Bard

and diſciple of nature, for the purpoſe of revealing the unparallelled merits of him, her moſt faithful interpreter: But how with indignation would he avert his eyes from the unhallowed bands, that ſo indiſcriminately are intruded round him, and, as the guardian genius of this land, lament the dearth of real merit, when its place is ſo ſupplied with that of fictitious growth. Where now ſhall departed worth lie, thus deprived of its wonted retreat, and long undiſturbed aſylum! What a contraſt to Atterbury's delicate and truly claſſical proceeding is formed in the cloſing the right ſide of Shakeſpeare, with the remains of Pritchard! How ill ſuits with Philips's monument and Atterbury's modeſt epitaph, that of the actreſs couched in no ſuch conciliatory apologizing terms by the Poet-laureate; how ill the loudly proclaimed praiſes of the latter, with thoſe negatively beſtowed on the former!

Vatum certè cineres tuos undique ſtipantium
Non dedecebit chorum.

How claſh the choir of Bards, all thronging round the tomb of Chaucer, with the band of players round that of Shakeſpeare! How unequal in themſelves are the ſupporters of Shakeſpeare's ſhade, Thomſon and Pritchard, and compared with thoſe of Chaucer's Cowley and Philips, what a falling off is there!

MORAL ESSAY.

IF it is ſaid of Moral Truths, that the near relation they bear us effaces the ſhades of difference between them, and ſuſpends the functions of the diſtinguiſhing faculty; if it is argued of them, as of viſual objects, whoſe too near approach confuſes and confounds the ſight; ſtill the analogy does not in ſtrictneſs hold, nor is there any thing in it to deter us from endeavouring to attain that knowledge inculcated in the celebrated words pronounced by the Oracle at Delphos,—*Know thyſelf;* not ſo difficult to acquire, as the wiſeſt man of antiquity, to whom they were addreſſed, averred, but a ſcience founded in certainty, reducible to fixed determinate principles, and within our reach. For the mind's eye, the eye of reaſon, when not perverted and vitiated, can look inward on itſelf, reflect on its own operations, which the organ of ſenſe cannot, and which, but

for the unerring guide of the other, would often misreprefent to us the objects it is converfant about, and brings within the compafs of its view, difplaying them in colours different from their native and genuine. Thus, it is corrected in the mifreprefentation it gives us of the double image arifing from the preffure of one eye, the crooked appearance of any thing ftraight immerfed in water, the yellow hue that every thing receives from the jaundice. In the fame way, to pafs from earthly to heavenly bodies, fenfe informs, in contradiction to the fublime and infallible truths of the Newtonian Philofophy, that the earth is the centre of attraction, and the fun, with all the planets, move round it as the centre. But reafon is called in to the aid of the imperfection of our fenfes, which evinces, by appeal to the fenfes themfelves, in the way of experiment, that not the earth, but the fun, is the *primum mobile*, that firft moving principle in the creation. Nor does the command in Scripture, to the fun to ftand ftill till Jofhua had fought his battles, impeach the certainty of the folar fyftem, as the fun has its motion round its axis, as the reft of the fyftem round it; and with the ceafing of that centrical motion, all the other fecondary circular motions of the planets neceffarily ceafe too.—Not lefs infallible is reafon in moral than phyfical fpeculations.

As motion is to the body, the inclination of the will is to the mind, and paſſions of the heart: both are meant by nature to contribute to the preſervation of the body, not to its enthraldom. The ſect of philoſophers of antiquity the moſt enſlaved by the paſſions, it is well known, was the Epicurean, whoſe *ſummum bonum* was pleaſure. To which was oppoſed the Stoic apathy. Zeno, and the ſect he founded, knew no other way of combating their opponents doctrine, than denying the exiſtence of pain and pleaſure, thus denying their virtue its chief merit, a victory over them. The Chriſtian diſpenſation affords other means, thoſe of Grace, of counteracting the attractions of pleaſure, and aſſerting freedom from the control of the paſſions. There is no religion without morality, no morality without religion; they both ſtand or fall together. The influence, then, of religion on moral conduct, is here neceſſarily preſuppoſed, agreeable to the method of mathematicians, who aſſume certain ſelf-evident *data*, on which to build their theorems and problems. As our duty is threefold, that to God, our fellow-creatures, and ourſelves; the two latter branches are the more immediate objects of this enquiry, as the neceſſary emanations of the primary fundamental one, which ought to be taken for granted in all ſuch caſes as that before us, and the ſpecial

application of which ſhould be reſerved for thoſe, whoſe profeſſional ſtudies have moſt qualified them for it.

It was the total abſence of it from the Epicurean Syſtem, that made it ſo ſubverſive of all good. Its Author removed the Gods to ſuch an awful diſtance, that they could not—repreſented them ſo addicted to eaſe, that they would not—behold the actions of men, and intereſt themſelves in them. Hence his Sectaries were thoſe *Epicuri de grege Porci*, grovelling in every thing that was low and ſenſual,—every thing degrading the dignity of man: And, without a due ſenſe of that dignity, we ſhall be little better, if not worſe, than they were. By how much greater is the falling off, as greater ought to be our conceptions of the dignity, from the ſuperior lights diffuſed on it, that paganiſm was eſtranged to, and, compared with which, what faint gleams it received, might well be called no other than darkneſs, a total eclipſe. Certain it is, ſome, too many, from ſubſcribing to modern Epicurean tenets, others of more elevated thoughts, *nullius addicti jurare in verba magiſtri*, framing ſuch doctrines to themſelves, lie grovelling as low as their originals, like them prefer darkneſs to light, and that to ſuch a fatal degree, that the immortal Newton, when he aſ-

ſigned his gravitation as an univerſal principle to the phyſical, might at the ſame time have extended it to the moral world, where we have as much bathos or ſinking as ever there was in poetry, without the ſublimity. In the art there have been ſublime geniuſes, few ſuch characters in the ſcience. If we lift our eyes and thoughts to a contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and their harmonies, if ever we take a complete ſurvey of the works of creation, it is not ſufficiently to revere the Creator; if ever we explore the depths and myſteries of nature, it is not always to praiſe the Author of Nature; ſo then, on a return to ourſelves from ſuch ſpeculations, it is not to perfect that firſt knowledge, the knowledge of ourſelves. What connects us with the earth, is the body; with heaven, and the Creator of both, is the mind.

Epicurus, it is ſaid, however bad his theory, was in practice a moral good man; nor did the example he ſet, correſpond with the precepts he taught. His *ſummum bonum* pleaſure was of a negative nature, conſiſting in the privation of all pain, and no poſitive good. He owed much to Democritus, with whoſe fountains Tully ſaid he watered his gardens. His atomical ſyſtem he took from Leucippus and Democritus: he denied

a providence, the ſoul's immortality, and eſtimated all things by the ſenſes, and that to ſuch a degree, that the ſun and moon he thought no larger than they appeared to be, as his follower Lucretius has expounded his doctrine. Nor was he aware what dangerous lengths it was to be carried, into what depravity his followers were by it to be betrayed. He inculcated the practice of virtue, but not as a principle of conduct, not as containing any thing in itſelf amiable or gratifying, but merely as conducive, by means of its attendant ſatisfaction, and tranquillity of mind, to that ſtate of the body in which conſiſted the moſt complete happineſs. Magnanimity, generoſity, juſtice, humanity, benevolence, and fortitude, were all with him means only proportioned to that end. This looſe method of philoſophiſing, this unhinging of principle, diſſolution of the bonds and cement of ſociety, in the degeneracy of his ſectaries, made ſuch inroads into human nature, led to ſuch ſenſuality and groſs licentiouſneſs, that they fell a prey to ſloth and indolence, all energy of the mind was enervated, every active principle abſorbed. Hence aroſe the Atomical Syſtem, when immorality, irreligion, atheiſm triumphed.

From the counter ſyſtem to this Stoiciſm, ſprung every thing that was manly, great, generous,

good: fortitude, heroiſm, diſintereſtedneſs, and the whole chain of the ſocial virtues here had their full ſcope and ſway. Whatever remains of them, were to be traced in the decline of the Roman Empire, were the fruits of this philoſophy. But the impreſſions were but faint, the traces rare; the general prevalence of the oppoſite doctrine, in ſpreading wide the corruption of manners, encouraging effeminacy, diſſoluteneſs and pleaſure, haſtened its downfall.

THE fate of both was to be carried to extremes, and the exceſs of Stoic Apathy was attended perhaps with too much ſeverity, not altogether calculated for the purpoſes of human life, more than the exceſſive relaxation of the other. Between theſe extremes Plato and Ariſtotle ſteered a middle courſe, in the recommendation of virtue, propriety of conduct, prudent management, as the perfection of human excellence, and main ſpring of happineſs. This propriety or prudence, with them, conſiſted in the due balance of the ſocial and ſelfiſh paſſions, in tempering and moderating virtues, ſo as from their exceſs not to incur cenſure, at the ſame time they diſſuaded from the oppoſite vices. Of this golden medium the teſt muſt ever be ſympathy, or the correſponding feelings of our fellow-creatures. They were zealous advocates for

virtue, as in itſelf admirable, for its own ſake amiable, and the chief object of a wiſe man's purſuit. The πρεπὸν or moral excellence, the καλὸν or moral beauty, was, with Plato, the ἡδυ or ωφελιμον, the pleaſant or uſeful; with Ariſtotle, the ἐπαινετον or laudable. They oppoſed to bodily pleaſures, thoſe of the mind; the purer intellectual recreations and amuſements, as the predominant, to which the others were ſubaltern and ſubſervient. As born in ſociety, as there ſtanding in various relations, with duties in each to fulfill, they repreſented man as an active being, and in him encouraged every virtuous principle of action.

Most of all are we to guard againſt the licentious ſyſtems broached among the Moderns by Mandeville, Rochefaucault, and others, as of all the moſt dangerous, where virtue and vice are confounded, maxims adopted of the import, that private vices are public benefits, that there can be no virtue in the world as long as there is any paſſion in it, whether kept within bounds or not. The gratification of this licentiouſneſs is the abuſe of the nobleſt prerogative of man, his liberty: it is the denial of it to his actions, that for his actions he may not be deemed accountable; and transference of it from them to his thoughts, that ſo the free-thinker may no longer be the free

agent, but, like the frail machine of in-vention, the fabric of his hands, without any prin-ciple of action in itſelf, may hold himſelf acted upon by the ſame blind and fatal neceſſity, re-duced to the ſame level with it. This ſcepticiſm is the ſource of all the immorality and infidelity that the world ſo abounds in. Equally fallacious and impoſing, and ſo to be avoided, is Hobbs's ſelfiſh ſyſtem; that of reaſon, as the ſource of vir-tue, in oppoſition to ſentiment, or the moral ſenſe, left for the penetration of the benevolent Hutche-ſon to diſcover—A diſcovery that at once does honour to his head and heart. In it he has drawn down this philoſophy from the head, from the ſeat of reaſon, to place it in the heart, its proper reſidence, and there, as on its centre, to fix it; thence, as from the fountain-head, by the Author of Nature ordained, in its emanations, to diffuſe itſelf in varied and multiplied rills through his works, in benevolence, the ſympathetic feelings, the generous overflowings of humanity, the ten-der and finer emotions, and all the train of ſocial virtues. Under the influence of this ſenſe, as the ſtandard and infallible criterion of morals, im-preſſed with its ſecret and unerring impulſes, we implicitly, and without heſitation, aſſent to the truths of the ſcience: It requires no proceſs, no operation of the underſtanding, to trace the cauſes

of the effects, to inform us of the reason why, or the manner how we receive the impressions; but on consulting the heart, it tells us at once they are such, and we are so affected by them, they so irresistibly, so powerfully, and by such an absolute necessity, seize on the conviction. It is thus we are influenced by the standard of taste, in the contemplation of the sublime and beautiful in nature, and the fine arts founded on her as their model.

In praise of the immortal Socrates, it is said by Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. L. 1. and Acad. Quæst. L. 1. That he drew down Philosophy from the heavens, placed her in cities, and there made her conversant with men in private families, that she might enquire into life and manners, virtue and vice, good and evil; leaving the labyrinths of physics and metaphysics, astronomical pursuits, and such abstruse speculations, as were either altogether beyond our reach, or not conducive to the exemplary conduct of our lives.

It is not hence to be inferred, that these pursuits are to be totally disregarded, only not so to ingross our attention, as to preclude our more diligent researches into that science which directs its views to common life. These other speculations are to refine the understanding, this to cor-

rect the man; these are of amusements the most rational, this of instructions the most salutary; these are directed to the improvement of the head, this to the culture of the head and heart. Our thoughts are not to be too much employed in, or solicitous about the more subtile and intricate walks of philosophy. The contemplation of other worlds is, generally speaking, too high and mysterious for us; it is enough if we know what passes in this, what so nearly concerns us and our welfare; that which before us lies in daily life is the prime wisdom, Milton has said; nor easily attainable, can that wisdom be held, with all our diligence and most unwearied endeavours, since the wisest of men professed himself unequal to the task.

THE ancient writers have treated this subject in a very diffuse and comprehensive manner, the modern in a more connected and systematic method. Among the latter, each has established his standard of morals, and to that has uniformly directed his theory. With one it is self-preservation, with another sympathy, a third benevolence, and a fourth utility. Many of the modern systems are so licentious as to have proved of the most dangerous tendency to religion and morality, utterly subversive of the principles of both, destruc-

tive of their nobleft views, undermining the very bafis of fociety, and attended with fatal confequences to the moft valuable interefts of mankind.

To leave, then, all fuch perverted fyftems, let us enquire with others into the true and genuine, fublime and beautiful, in morals, the πρεπον and καλοκαγαθιαν. Nor ought thefe to be lefs the objects of our earneft refearches in the intellectual than in the natural world: and on enquiry it will be found, that there is the ftricteft and moft invariable analogy between them in each of thefe views, and that the natural and moral graces fhed mutual luftre on each other. The divine Socrates, fo eminently diftinguifhed for the graces of his mind, excelled in an inimitably fine reprefentation he drew of the Graces in Nature. That harmony with which Nature began, and which ftill animates and pervades all her works, giving them life and vigour, without which fhe foon would ficken, foon would die, in which the fpheres move and play, the elements in quaternion run, is congenial with, and analogous to the harmony of the foul of man; and if he is that little world himfelf, and kind of compendium of the greater, as the Ancients have advanced, let him be moft anxious in the prefervation of that refemblance, by excluding all the difcordant and jarring founds that are to break upon

and interrupt the harmony that humanizes his frame, and promotes the culture of his heart. It conſiſts in the influence of reaſon on his actions, which, when diſturbed in the exercife of its functions, by the intruſion of irregular and turbulent paſſions, is then ſaid to have its place uſurped by diſcord, whoſe attendants, confuſion, irregularity, and deformity, ſeize upon, and control the human conſtitution.

Even in this perverted ſtate of things in human nature, the reſemblance is not loſt between the microcoſm and the greater world; for, what the turbulent ſway of the paſſions are in the one, the convulſions of nature are in the other, that aſſail her in ſtorms, inundations, earthquakes, hurricanes, volcanos. As in the fall of man, paſſion uſurped the ſeat of reaſon, ſo all nature ſympathized with him, and ſickened at the introduction of ſin and death into the world. It is in the deſcription of this change, that the unbounded ſublimity of Milton repreſents the Angels actually effecting what Archimedes had ſo bold a conception of. Δος πȣ ςω, και την γην κινησω, Archimedes ſaid; and Milton,

> He bid his Angels turn aſcanſe
> The poles of earth, twice ten degrees, and more,
> From the Sun's axle; they with labour puſh'd
> Oblique the centric globe.

B

Nor are these rude shocks of nature more subversive of her silent operations, than the inroad of ungovernable passions are of the moral rectitude of man's actions. When this harmony of nature fails us, and the effects of passionate discord break in upon our peace of mind, it is then most we fly for relief to artificial harmony, in the concord of sounds.

> And ever against eating cares,
> Lap me in soft Lydian airs.

And when this discord rises to the height of fury and madness, it is then most to be allayed by melody, and such modulations as best may imitate nature. As the voice of music rose, Saul's fury fell.

To be wafted along the smooth and even tenor of our days, amid prosperity, ease, and happiness, to float on the silent lapse of time, in tranquillity, peace, and contentedness, is far, very far, from being the lot of humanity. The goods of this life are blended with but too great a proportion of the ills, if not with such a proportion as altogether to overbalance them; and all the scenes of human affairs are constantly varied and diversified with the motley ingredients of each. Pleasure and pain are nearly allied: gradual and imperceptible is the transition from the one to the other.

Of this truth a fine illuftration is the allegorical fiction of Homer's two cafks that he places at the foot of the throne of Jupiter, the one containing the goods, the other the ills of life, which, mixed together, are thus fpread and diffufed through all worldly occurrences. What tempers this reflection, is another, that partial evils are general goods, and only fuch difcords in the general fum of things, as confpire to the univerfal harmony; but the wife ends to which they are directed in the difpenfations of Providence, are concealed from our fhallow and imperfect fight. At the fame time it is to be confidered, that few things are fo bad, but what they might have been worfe; and when we compare our own fituation with that of many round us, we fhall reap from the comparifon fome degree of alleviation and comfort. Who, diffatisfied with his own lot, and making painful contrafts with it and that of others around him, envying the riches of one, the power of another, the perfonal or mental qualifications of a third, would undergo a total change with them? and who, inftead of a total, would not fubmit but to a partial change?—Whatever ftation we are placed in, we are bound to fill it with that refignation and chearfulnefs that our duty to ourfelves and others requires, repining the leaft pof-

ſible at our own lot, and envying ſtill leſs that of others.

Let us meet the ſtorms of outrageous fortune, if not by oppoſing to end them, with that ſubmiſſion and complacency ſuitable to our nature. In the midſt of them, we are to have recourſe to the ſolacing reflection, that all is for the beſt; that theſe apparent ills are but means in the hands of the Ruler of the Univerſe, out of which he brings forth good. Nor let the ridicule or wit of modern ſophiſtry divert us from the conſideration, or deprive us of its healing and mitigating effects. Without ſuch an aid and ſupport, all the voyage of our life muſt be bound in ſhallows and in miſeries; toſſed and agitated from one ſtorm of fortune to another, we ſhall find no haven or place of reſt. Nor is it for our happineſs to ſuffer our thoughts to be too deeply engaged in gloomy proſpects, but rather that we ſhould always endeavour to turn the fairer ſide of things; nor ſhould preſent innocent joys be damped, in the anticipation of future imaginary bad conſequences. Ineſtimable is chearfulneſs, not only in its formation of the man, improvement of the character and manners, but in its ſalutary effects on the human frame and conſtitution itſelf. Monaſtic auſterity, and rigid ſeverity of manners, is long ſince antiquated and

exploded, now totally baniſhed the ſocial circles of cultivated humanity.

It is not ſuch diſcipline that is neceſſary to the arming us with the fortitude requiſite to ſteer our courſe through the ſea of troubles, with which we are every where encompaſſed : That inſenſibility to the external impulſes of fortune, is not the ſhield we are to put on in ſuch dangers : it is not ſo we are to retire and be collected within ourſelves, relying on our internal reſources as on impregnable intrenchments ; it is not thus we are to be armed at all points. For ſuch rigid and ſevere mortifications, if it tends to blunt the edge of pain, to diſarm fortune of her ſharpeſt ſtings, and moſt pointed arrows, it at the ſame time renders us equally indifferent to the ſenſations of ſocial enjoyments. And ſuch a ſtate of total indifference to good or ill, pleaſure or pain, were it attainable, it may well be queſtioned how far it is deſirable. If it reſolves itſelf into a liſtleſs inactivity ; if it is ſubverſive of all the tender and finer feelings, the ſtronger emotions and impulſes that are to prove incentives to enterprize and ſpirited exertions ; and if, in their ſtead, it is to ſubſtitute a mere cold and paſſive deportment ; if it is inſenſible to all innocent pleaſure, but ſuch negative pleaſure as conſiſts in the abſence of pain ; and if, from its inſen-

ſibility to pain, it is a ſtranger to the enhanced ſweetneſs of ſucceeding pleaſure,—we are not to be led into the deluſions of ſuch a ſyſtem by the dreams and viſions of Atlantic Enthuſiaſm.

The man of feeling is poſitively affected with pleaſure, and derives ſources of it both from reality and imagination: his tender and finer emotions are often awakened to rapture, in the contemplation of the arts and ſciences; the ſiſter arts of poetry, painting, and muſic, have peculiar charms for him; philoſophy and oratory win his attention, with graces unknown to others. Even painful ſenſations, and melancholy itſelf, are ſources from whence he can derive ſome ſecret ſatisfaction. He is no ſtranger to Oſſian's joy of grief, or Homer's ἵμερος γοοιο, thoſe great maſters that drew their images from nature.

When we move in our own ſphere, however narrow, diffuſing round us what good lies within our reach, we act up to the character of uſeful members of ſociety. But happy and truly great are they, who, moving in higher ſpheres, are poſſeſſed of both the power and inclination to ſhare with numbers in the ſmiles of fortune ſo affluently ſhed on them.

In this display of the social virtues, none is placed in so eminent a degree, as Charity; none is more strongly inculcated by the precepts of our religion; none more consonant to the dictates of humanity, or more conducive to the ends proposed in civil institutions. The heart that is not capable of that universal property of common matter, expansion, is not fit to dwell in the breast of man. But that heart, flowing with active springs, that diffuses its bounty to the widow's lonely cottage, and there cheers the drooping eye of the helpless orphan,—that contributes to, and rejoices in the growth and increase of peace and plenty all around it, is that best fitted to the promotion of the dignity of human nature. Such a bounteous stream, constantly teeming, gives fresh supply, new life and vigour to its neighbouring circles; it seems to enliven scenes otherwise chilled and deadened; the fields within its reach seem to wear another aspect, the adjoining villages to resound with the songs of peace and contentment.

What glowing satisfaction must attend the benevolent mind, which considers no riches as its true and just inheritance, but the residue of what is necessary to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, within the bounds particularly under its charge! The lowly peasant, that with the sweat of his brow

contributes to the eaſe and luxury of his landlord, has in return a juſt claim on him for the neceſſaries of life to himſelf and his family. Small ſums in this way diſtributed by proprietors to the poorer tenants on their eſtates, might produce great effects: As they are the beſt judges of their poverty, and muſt beſt know the real objects of charity, there is the leaſt danger poſſible in this way of its being miſplaced: if ſo, then, very ſmall pittances beſtowed from time to time on the poor, but induſtrious labourer, at his own houſe, and on his own portion of ground, will go a much greater way in the rearing of his family, than conſiderably larger ſums any where elſe, and under public management. Were this Utopian ſyſtem of charity to be realized, inſtead of a State overburdened with poor and poor-rates, we ſhould neither have the one or the other grievance; no poor, at leaſt other than our own, and every one would thus be equal to the maintenance of his own: they would ſo be equally ſpread over the nation, not one part overcharged with, and another ſcarcely viſited by them; not towns providing for the poor of the country, or the country for thoſe of the towns.

The cities thus freed from ſuch a conſtant influx as the country opens on them, could eaſily eſtabliſh funds under prudent regulations, for the

ſupport of their decayed tradeſmen and indigent inhabitants, if the charity of the richer citizens was inadequate to the purpoſe. In this view of things too, the landlords, being exempt from poor-rates, would, in the room of theſe compulſatory contributions, ſubſtitute voluntary donations, and that to much leſs extent, as leſs than what they now contribute to others poor (their own getting little perhaps, or no ſhare of it) would ſatisfy their own, and be infinitely more ſatisfactory to themſelves; when at the ſame time they conſult their œconomy, they ſatisfy their conſciences in the gratification of a charitable diſpoſition. The reverſe now is, that there is little or no charity, numberleſs poor, heavy and intolerable poor-rates miſapplied, and perverted to other than charitable uſes, the feaſting and carouſing of overſeers. Thus has the luxury and depravity of landlords, by withholding moderate voluntary acts of charity, well timed, and well placed, where moſt due, in their ſtead, ſubjected them to immoderate compulſatory contributions, and at the ſame time defeated the ends in both propoſed. Hence are evident the benefits reſulting from the exerciſe of this primary virtue, in the threefold view of religion, morals, and politics.

In vain are we to rely on laws as incentives to good actions: they influence our conduct, but negatively; they affix punishments to crimes and misdemeanours, but no rewards to merit. The very best laws prove a dead letter, where the mass of a people are corrupted, and have degenerated from their ancestors; where luxury has introduced immorality and irreligion, rooted out every sentiment of generosity, all honest emulation, and extinguished the flames of heroic ardour. When that spirit of emulation, that so remarkably discovered itself in the young Thucydides, who wept at Herodotus's recital of his history at the Olympic games; that shone forth in the atchievements of the martial youth of Greece, at the celebration of those games; that taught them to repel the invaders of their country, oppose the Persian descent, and render memorable, for the laurels on them won, the plains of Marathon and Platea: When that spirit was fled, it was then, that under the same old laws and constitution, the Persian and Macedonian gold insinuated itself into her councils, and paved the way for the surrender of her liberties. Under the Roman Emperors, Tacitus says, the same laws, the same offices remained, *eadem nomina, eadem vocabula erant*, that prevailed during the third and fourth centuries of the republic; but they could not revive the re-

publican virtue, and martial ſpirit, that the vices of luxury and immorality had totally diſſipated.

Such a charitable character as has been above treated of, ſuperſedes often the neceſſity of the interpoſition of laws, in tranſactions between man and man. It ſeems almoſt to check vice and crimes in the bud, ſince it removes two main ſprings of them—poverty and idleneſs, ſo long as it encourages only the induſtrious poor; and if it cannot extirpate the third main incentive—a bad diſpoſition, it may correct it ſo far at leaſt as to blunt its edge, to turn it aſide from criminal enterpriſes, from plunder, rapine, robbery, and theft, to civil broils and contentions; and the deciſion of ſuch controverſies may remove from courts of law, and in their room, may have his ſole authority and arbitration, as the *arbitrium boni viri*, appealed to and conſulted, from the confidence repoſed in him as the oracle of the neighbourhood.—Allied to Charity, is Sympathy, both grieved at the ills of others; and the reverſe of both, is Envy, that repines at others good.

Intimately connected with the above charitable diſpoſition to our inferiors, is Hoſpitality to our equals and ſuperiors, whether coming under the deſcription of friends, relations, neighbours,

or acquaintance; and in certain cafes, it is to be extended even to ftrangers. To fhare in the converfation of men of thefe defcriptions, with them to partake of focial tranfports, and they to join with us in the contemplation of the beauties of nature round the hofpitable retreat, muft introduce the height of refinement into the livelieft and moft rational of our enjoyments. The cherifhing in moderation this moral principle, leads to the cultivation of friendfhip, that chief fupport of life in all its trials and viciffitudes; that fhares alike in our joys, and partakes of our griefs; filling up the meafure of the one, and leffening the burden of the other. To difclofe our uneafinefs, communicate our apprehenfions, pour out our complaints, feek counfel amid our perplexities, in the breafts of thofe we confide in, fly to for relief,—breafts fufceptible of congenial emotions of tendernefs, fentiments of generofity warmed with fympathy; never fails to raife the dejected mind to better hopes, to infufe foothing and cherifhing ingredients into the bitter cup of affliction.

THE exercife of hofpitality, too, leads to the amufement of all others the moft rational; the embellifhment of rural refidences, in the adorning the waftes of uncultivated nature, crowning the uplands with hanging woods, the formation of lawns,

levelling uneven and broken ſurfaces throughout extended plains, the continuance, without break or interruption by the rude hand of art, in forced line or row, of finely varied, gradual, undulating ſlopes, ſo as not to interrupt the eye in its free range and progreſs over the extenſive ſcenery, which eagerly graſps at variety and infinity in the objects of its ſearch, all incloſures modeſtly retiring from the ſight, and art nowhere appearing but to aſſiſt nature in her operations. Such ſcenery, ſuch glowing and animated landſcapes, with what variety of rock and water, hill and dale, flocks and herds, may conſpire to enliven and complete the enchantment, afford but a barren pleaſure in our own ſolitary contemplation of them. It is for others, as well as ourſelves, that we are ſo warmly intereſted in theſe undertakings, that pleaſe ſo much in the conducting, and review of them when completed, and in the execution give ſuſtenance to ſo many induſtrious labourers. Here is charity, in another point of view, miniſtring to our luxury; and our luxury, if moderately indulged in, redounding to the emolument of our families; and whether moderately or immoderately, certainly ſo to that of our country. Our fields thus enlivened and ornamented round us, the torches glowing under our hoſpitable roofs, all the laws of hoſpitality kept ſacred and

inviolable, which is virtually performing the ſame due rites and ceremonies to the houſhold gods, burning the ſame incenſe on their altars that the Ancients did; the ſublime and beautiful in nature emulating the ſublime and beautiful in morals; the moral and natural graces vieing with, and mutually ſhedding luſtre on each other; ſuch an aſſemblage of fortunate incidents ſeems to fill up the meaſure of earthly happineſs.

ADDED to this hoſpitable demeanour, there is a duty enjoined neighbours, in their deportment to each other; but it is in every ſituation of life mutual and reciprocal. It conſiſts in the keeping inviolable each others rights, privileges, and immunities; and if diſputes ſhould unavoidably ariſe about the adjuſtment of their reſpective boundaries, or any other incidental occurrences, the ſame duty inculcates the moſt ſpeedy and amicable diſcuſſion of them, by reference to the deciſion of arbiters, excluſive of tedious and expenſive litigations, in which every thing is to be loſt, and nothing to be gained; by which, feuds, animoſities, and diſſenſions, are ſown in a neighbourhood, the peace of families broken. Nor are theſe miſchiefs confined ſolely to the litigants, but ſpread themſelves, and in their courſe embroil other neighbouring circles, creating parties and diviſions, where peace and una-

nimity ſhould uninterruptedly have prevailed, involving in their ruinous conſequences, the tenants and other dependents of the authors of the diſturbances. To compare great things with ſmall,

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Such fruitleſs litigations, too, are the means of the country being drained of the funds, that might ſo much better be appropriated to the above charitable and hoſpitable purpoſes.

We have now followed the moral agent in the more extenſive relations he ſtands in to his inferiors, equals, and ſuperiors; let us view him retired from theſe circles to his domeſtic concerns, to his more ſecret receſſes in the boſom of his family. It is within the domeſtic walls, and in ſuch ſcenes, that a great proportion of the happineſs and miſery of mankind is found to dwell. There is no peace like the peace of a family: next to that houſhold peace, is the peace of a neighbourhood; much have they to anſwer for, that diſturb or break either. Having proceeded ſo far in our inveſtigation of moral agency, we have traced it through ſome of its varied and multiplied rills, up to the ſource; if that is not pure and undiſturbed, the waters flowing from it, muſt neceſſarily ſhare in the pollution, have their colour tinged, their ſweetneſs impaired. Here we may ſuffer ourſelves to pauſe a little, if not to

close the scene; since here lie those secrets of the science which seem scarce to be divulged, those tender and endearing scenes which are not for vulgar or garish eyes to be familiarized with. All those thousand decencies, the exercise of which prepare us for the discharge of the greater and more important moral duties, those mutual forbearances and indulgences, they are all subjects of too delicate and refined a nature for precept to handle, and are better enforced by example.

The excessive delicacy observed in the Grecian domestic life, strained to such a pitch of extravagance for so refined and civilized a people, seems scarcely credible with us. It is handed down from antiquity, that among that people, one branch of a family had no intimate correspondence or familiarity with another; that they lived in separate apartments under the same roof, with scarce any degree of intercourse. From which extreme and unsociable reserve, arose their intermarriages within the prohibited degrees that take place with us.

Let us now view the moral man abstracted from all these various relations we have seen him placed in, retiring within himself, and in himself collected; exchanging the real and social pleasures he has been engaged in, for indulgence in the more

ſolitary pleaſures of the imagination. Let us follow him in the cultivation of the powers and faculties of his mind, partly with a view to his recreation and amuſement, partly to the enhanced charms of returning ſociety, his improvement in it, with the acquiſition of new ideas for future converſation. Nor other than the man whoſe picture has been here drawn, may mix in raptures in the muſes choirs, or roam inſpired through the circle of arts and ſciences; ſoar into the regions of the ſublime, or yield to the impreſſions of the beautiful: Nothing but the moſt exquiſite taſte is ſuſceptible of ſuch refined pleaſures, and eſſential to the conſtitution of it is the niceſt feeling, to ſuch feeling the moſt approved principles. The good qualities of the heart co-operate with thoſe of the underſtanding, in the reception of ſuch tranſports: And to ſuch an extent is this idea to be carried, that, on examination, there will be found no real human greatneſs, no earthly grandeur, or excellence in any of the finer arts or ſciences, that does not depend on ſuch an entire union.

The chief ſtudy and principal ſcience of man, is man; *homo ſum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.* There is no true greatneſs independent of virtue; there is no true valour ſtript of humanity. There are inſtances, where a brutal ferocity, with an ex-

traordinary ſtrength of body, carry men on, as if by inſtinct, without a ſenſe of danger, to the moſt daring exploits; but it is not in them we are to look for that true heroiſm, that martial ardour, that, ſwelling in the breaſt, and tempered to juſt meaſure, leads to the paths of glory: they have not that harmony in their frame, that, acted upon by martial muſic, is ſuſceptible of congenial impulſes, and, rouſed into a generous glow of ſoul, breathes a kindred flame. It is not for them the trumpet ſounds, or the drum beats,—their hearts move not in unifon. There have been Turennes and Cromwells; but who would compare the two, or heſitate in the preference? both great, both ſingularly eminent; but the one for his virtues, the other for his vices. To be great, is one thing,—to be great and good, another.

Let every man erect a tribunal within himſelf; let him there preſide as judge ſupreme, diveſted of every ſelfiſh prejudice and bias, and acquit or condemn in ſtrict conſcientious conformity to truth and to juſtice. We muſt often retire within ourſelves,—ſo retiring we ſhall never be leſs alone than when alone; thoroughly explore and examine ourſelves, not with a view of deſerting ſociety, and leaving the world, but for our better preparation for the intercourſe of it: By the ſame rule, that in the

body-politic, the oftener it is brought back to the original principles of its conſtitution, the ſounder and more incorrupt it will neceſſarily be preſerved, and bid the fairer for the longer duration; a maxim that is invariably adhered to in our own, and ſo much contributes to its purity and perfection. It is not enough that we pleaſe others, are admired and applauded by the multitude; we muſt too have a good correſpondence, and be in perfect harmony, with ourſelves; acquire the plaudit of an entire and good conſcience, the teſtimony of which is the ſevereſt and ſtricteſt of all. We ſhould be ſevere in our own examination, to be leſs ſo in that of others; ready to condemn our own faults, to be the more indulgent to thoſe of our neighbours.

Many bad men, by impoſing on the world, have arrived at great eminence; but in the hiſtory of mankind, there is no inſtance of miſers having done the ſame: Every principle of great actions is obliterated in that corroſive bent of mind given by avarice; all rays of genius are in that dark ground abſorbed, none reflected: there, miſanthropy, with all its train of infectious qualities, have the entire predominancy, to the utter excluſion of the generous, diſintereſted, benevolent ſpirit. Nor ever was there a juſter ſaying, than

that money is the beſt of ſervants, and worſt of maſters. What merit has a miſer in the accumulation of riches, ſince it is done in no other way, than, to uſe the alluſion, a dam, that conſtantly receives the ſmalleſt rill of water imaginable, and diſcharges nothing of it, will ſoon ſwell it to a conſiderable pool? Strictly emblematical of his ſtate is the fable of Midas, whoſe wiſh was, that every thing he touched might be turned into gold. In the gratification of his wiſh, his food ſharing the ſame fate with every thing elſe he laid his hands on, he fell a ſacrifice to his idol, gold. The golden medium between the two extremes, avarice on the one hand, and diſſipation on the other, is a well timed, well regulated œconomy. In neither of the extremes is juſtice done to ourſelves or others; in the medium alone, that avoids both, we are in that happy ſituation that is to enable us to diſcharge that twofold duty incumbent on us in ſociety. In ſquandering unreſervedly the gifts of fortune, we involve many of our honeſt and induſtrious fellow-creatures in one common ruin with ourſelves: In hoarding up treaſures, we are as drones in the midſt of the hive of bees, taking from the common maſs intended for a common benefit, and giving nothing to it in return. Here, that law of nature that pervades the univerſe, action and reaction, meets with a ſhock.

A leading branch of œconomy is that of time; as idleneſs, it is wiſely ſaid, is the root of all evils. Cæſar's maxim was,

> Nil actum credens, ſi quid ſupereſſet agendum.

A leading rule in the practice of this œconomy, is, when engaged in any undertaking, never to ſuppoſe we have too much time, if enough; and when any thing is to be done, never to ſuppoſe we have too little. Another not leſs important, is, never to delay till to-morrow what can be done to-day, otherwiſe it is as in arrears of debt, running up, and becoming principal ſums; the arrears of one day running into another, and that other creating work enough of itſelf without borrowing of the preceding, a heavy debt comes ſo to be incurred;--irregularity, want of method, confuſion, is the reſult. The active induſtrious man turns a diſſipated idler, and at the end of the year, in caſting up his accompt with time, (for we all run accompts with it), he, when too late, finds much ſpent, irreparably loſt, and little done.* If we would provide ourſelves in reſources for the days of calamity and diſtreſs, whether in body or mind, for old age, let us well employ our time in proſperity, in health, and youth. Edward the Black Prince, did not waſte his younger years in luxury and effeminacy, but lived laborious days, to be at once the ornament and delight of human nature. Ambition that is

provident, facrifices the prefent to the future; pleafure, which is blind, facrifices the future to the prefent; but envy, avarice, and the other bafer paffions, forfeit both prefent and future.

THE oppofite virtue to covetoufnefs, and ambition too, (for both are alike ftrangers to the command, Hitherto fhalt thou go, and no farther), is Contentment, which, in fo circumfcribing itfelf within due bounds, has its happinefs fummed up in that wife faying of him pronounced the wifeft of men, He that needs leaft, is moft like the gods, who need nothing. King Canute, when he vainly endeavoured to fet bounds to the ocean, fo affuming a power that only belonged to the King of kings, in his all-infufficiency, found he had not learned to limit his own ambition. The ocean had its bounds, his ambition knew none; nor did he know himfelf. A picture of content is C. Fabricius, who, when offered gold by the Samnites, drawing his hands over his face and body, anfwered, that as long as he could command all thofe members he touched, nothing was wanting to him; therefore the money, which he had no ufe for, he would not accept from thofe he knew that had. They that have moft, want moft. Confucius's maxim was, that a man in his youth fhould guard againft luft, in manhood againft faction, and in old age againft covetoufnefs.

It is not enough that we difcharge the duties neceffarily incumbent on us in fociety; but we are to appear on the fcene, and act our part there, with all the allurements, all the graceful, agreeable qualifications, that a profound knowledge of the world, of men and manners, can adorn us with. As this branch of human conduct, as well as the religious duties, tho' intimately connected with the moral, are yet diftinctly marked and traced, lead into a further and much more enlarged field of inveftigation, neither enquiries can well be blended with the fubject of this.

No one is to imagine himfelf the centre of the creation, to accommodate things to himfelf, and not himfelf to things, in the ftile of Horace,

Mihi res non me rebus fubjungere conor.

The generality of men are placed in a middle ftate between the extremes of greatnefs and mifery. So fituated, let them confole themfelves with the reflection, that if they are far below the one, they are as far above the other. And there is a way by which they may conciliate the two, without departing from their own fphere, which lies in the acquifition of that golden medium of deportment, that approaches their fuperiors in the one degree, without envy, fear, flattery, or fer-

vility, but in their ſtead, with that firm manly behaviour, ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of their own worth and independence; on the other hand, which raiſes our inferiors in ſome reſpect to a level with ourſelves, in the diſplay of a ſuitable affability and condeſcenſion, ſtript of all manner of pride: For, what have we to be proud of, the moſt exalted among us? Are they the gifts of fortune we plume ourſelves ſo highly on? how very fluctuating they are, we all in our ſeveral turns daily experience:—Are they the endowments of mind, or accompliſhments of perſon? our tenure of them too, we all know, is to the utmoſt precarious; beſides, that their value is much depreciated, when unaccompanied by the above graces and embelliſhments. In indulging pride, we are guilty of a double deception, firſt in overvaluing ourſelves, then in endeavouring to impoſe the ſame erroneous eſtimation of us on others. Let princes and kings themſelves conſider, that more than proportionably to the ſmiles of fortune, which they in ſo eminent a degree enjoy above the reſt of their fellow-creatures, they ſhare in the common wants and neceſſities of our nature with the pooreſt and meaneſt of their ſubjects: And moſt pleaſing and inſtructing are thoſe hiſtorians, that, in drawing their characters, penetrate into their moſt ſecret and retired receſſes, exhibit them to public

view, ſtript of their ſtate and pageantry, as mere men, with all the paſſions and infirmities of men about them. This flatters the weakneſs of human nature, and is ſome compenſation for the great diſtance they are placed in above us, beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation of our reach. Again, the repreſentation the ſame able pens give of virtuous Princes, is equally flattering, as it reconciles us more to ourſelves, in reconciling us more to human nature.

In all our dealings, the moſt inviolable attachment is to be had to truth, one of the leading bonds of ſociety. Our word ſhould in general be as binding as our oath. The adoption of oaths on every trivial occaſion, is a proſtitution of them, ſubverſive of their force and due effects. But the words and oaths this ſacred regard is to be paid to, muſt be free and voluntary, free as the air we breathe, void of all manner of reſtraint; for in proportion to the increaſe of the conſtraint uſed in extorting a promiſe or oath, decreaſes the obligation to the obſervance of either. The famous queſtion long ſince agitated in the ſchools, whether a lie is in any caſe lawful, has been decided affirmatively by the moſt approved caſuiſts ancient and modern, by Cicero, Grotius, Puffendorf, Barbeyrac, Hutcheſon. They are ſome of the ancient

fathers of the church, that maintain the opposite side of the question. The advocates for it, in support of their opinion, instance a promise confirmed by oath, extorted by an highwayman, not to discover him if in our power; in which, it is agreed, the obligatory force of the promise or oath ceases with the force or threats that imposed it. He that so imposed it, first broke through all the laws human and divine, of course left no lasting impression of its efficacy before any of the three tribunals of God, man, or conscience. In corroboration of which powerful arguments, maxims of expediency conspire; the good of society requires the apprehension of all such offenders against it, by all the means possible. The principle of this decided point, extended through all the analogous cases, resolves itself into this general rule, that wherever force, threats, fear, fraud, or circumvention, or any undue influence, indirect methods, are the means employed to extort or obtain a promise or oath, such means defeat the end proposed; and where, on the other hand, they are free, voluntary, unbiassed, procured by no indirect ways, there they are ever to be kept sacred and inviolable. The principle is found this reasoning proceeds on, that there is no consent but what is free of force and seduction. Nor can any line be drawn between the degrees of compulsion, on one side of which the compulsatory

method is to have effect, on the other fide of which it is to be of no avail, that would be too arbitrary a proceeding, fubverfive of eftablifhed principle, which muft be attended with a general rule in all fuch cafes, without limitation or exception. All laws human and divine have adopted it, the law of reafon and honour give their fanction to it, fince in vain will either equity or honour be urged by him, that has firft overleapt the bounds of both in impofing the reftraint, as an inducement to fulfil the conditions it dictated, after the removal of the compulfion, and the recovery of the freedom of choice. The laws of honour, of later origin, are fupplementary of, not derogatory to, thofe primary obligations of ethics and juftice. If there was either crime or fault originally in the oath or promife, there is an additional one in the execution of them.

It is on ourfelves, what is within us, not on what is without, not on the gifts of fortune, on the opinion of men, that our happinefs chiefly depends: It is on the efteem we entertain for ourfelves, on our felf-approbation. It flows from moral fentiment, not the motley perverfe appearance of things. When we are at peace with our confcience, have there fecured a calm retreat from the ftorms of adverfe fortune, we are without the

ſphere of the noiſe and tumult of the pride, envy, reſtleſs ambition of deſigning malicious men, who have no ſuch reſources, no other ſupports to bear them through the courſe they have marked for themſelves, but the full tide of fortune, and the blind ſuffrages of time-ſerving flatterers and admirers. But he that is armed at all points, *tanquam ex Trojano equo*, is proof againſt the lies of calumny ſo induſtriouſly every where propagated, invulnerable to the darts of envenomed malice.

———Hic murus aheneus eſto,
Nil conſcire ſibi, nulla palleſcere culpa!

Such a one exclaims, whoſe ſleep is not haunted, whoſe ſolitude is not broken upon by the demons and avenging furies of a guilty and diſturbed conſcience; retired and collected within himſelf, a ſtranger to all the pangs of remorſe, he finds a haven, a ſure place of reſt. If there is any thing that does not fully meet the conviction in the benevolent ſyſtem adopted by the Eclectics or later Platoniſts, that roſe in the Auguſtan age, among the Moderns by Cudworth and Hutcheſon, it is that exceſs of refinement in it, that heſitates even to allow of that moſt innocent of all rational gratifications, as being of too ſelfiſh a nature, the teſtimony of a good conſcience, that great alleviation of cares, and balmy comfort mid ſurround-

ing ills, the consolation of the just, that peaceful monitor, God's vicegerent within us.

SUCH are the fruits of an union of the cardinal and christian virtues, temperance, prudence, justice, fortitude, faith, hope, and charity: the exercise of which alone can secure them to us. Before their superior lustre, and more prevalent influence, the fame and glory of statesmen and conquerors sink in importance, and disappear as empty shadows void of substance. Short as our time is, we shall find many vacuities in it, during our intervals of relaxation from business, and retirement from society, without we can fill up the void spaces with such reflections and sentiments as they inspire. Neglected worth, unknown merit, has this consolation, that all distinctions and ranks in society, if they are not, should be the rewards of virtue, and that the great ought to be the good man, however the multitude may be misled in their conceptions of grandeur, and the voice of the people may be tempted to misplace the tributary applause of the day. There is this further consolation left for it, that only the imaginary advantages of such idols of the world are exposed to public view, within the reach of envy and calumny, and the real ills attending their situation concealed; at the same time that it is conscious to itself that the supposed

ills alone consequent on its want of popularity, are what can appear, the real goods it is possessed of lie hidden, removed from the scope of envy, nor objects for malice to shoot its envenomed darts at.

It is in the school of adversity that a man learns what he is himself, and what he should be to others; above all, that he learns a due resignation to the dispensations of Providence. When such important acquisitions are to be made there, it is well for those that have been tutored in it. In the full tide of prosperity, we fail in the knowledge and practice of these duties. He that is under the entire control and government of his passions, a slave to pride and ambition, a stranger to the enjoyment of peace himself, and disturber of it in the surrounding circles, and is known to be avowedly so swayed, lives without honour; and those that to appearance flatter, in effect despise him. The honourable, and truly estimable character, is he that does the most good, the least ill possible; and what is to be required indispensibly of every member of society, is, at least that negative propensity to its welfare, not to prevent others from doing that good he himself is incapable of. There are times of severe injustice, that it falls to the lot of many, if not most men, to experience; when at once they

have to encounter the combinations of enemies, the ſurvivance of friends and relations, the deſertion of contemporaries. How many have lived to witneſs the truth of that reflection, drawn from nature by nature's beſt diſciple!

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in ſhallows and in miſeries.

He that is unacquainted with adverſity, if ſuch a one there is, is too likely to be a ſtranger to the ſoothing conſolations of ſympathy: No object of pity himſelf, experience at leaſt has not taught him to extend it to others: happy if he has learnt it from nature, without paſſing through the ſchool of adverſity.

THESE cruel times muſt be yielded to, the ebbing tide may be ſo ſtrong as not to be reſiſted: the reverſes of fortune are to be ſubmitted to in patience, and in hope, the returns to be waited for, under the guidance of Providence, and the lenient hand of time. When feeling all the ſtings of outrageous fortune, the proud man's wrongs, the laws delays, we have only to cry out with the monarch, whoſe heroiſm never appeared more conſpicuous in his moſt ſignal victories than in his defeats, who, when overpowered by numbers, ſur-

rounded by enemies, almoſt totally deſerted by friends and allies, at the loweſt ebb of his affairs, conſoled himſelf in reflecting that fortune was a gilt, he was no gallant; to-day ſhe was againſt him, another day ſhe might be for him. That juſtice, which is ſo often denied by our contemporaries, poſterity may one day render to our memories. There are no advantages that ſociety has to offer, can make the virtuous man abandon himſelf, renounce his principles, or forfeit his independence; retirement in his own country, or voluntary exile in another, are both preferable to to it on thoſe terms. In either of theſe ſituations he will find infinite reſources in his thoughts; many an interval of relaxation, many an hour of leiſure may he then be furniſhed with, that otherwiſe might have eſcaped him, to plan his own and country's good, to cultivate the muſes, the arts and ſciences, and the fruits of his labours to give to the world.

Of how many great men has it been the lot to ſuffer exile, who never deſerted themſelves, if they were deſerted by the world; but who, retiring within, and collected in themſelves, indulged in reflections, committed to writing thoughts that were to be handed down to poſterity as laſting monuments of their fame. To ſuch a fate did the

Oſtraciſm at Athens ſubject many of her moſt valuable citizens. Ariſtides the Juſt was thence baniſhed: but Socrates the wiſe and good was there put to death. Such was that of Cicero, of Bolingbroke, who both lived to return to their country, to be conſulted as oracles. Nor ever did Marius appear greater than in the conſtancy and unſhaken firmneſs he diſplayed in priſon and in exile. It was mid the treaſons of his own family, in exile from his own dominions, that Mithridates's fortitude ſhone forth with ſuperior luſtre. A great, brave, good man, ſtanding alone without ſupport, other than the ſhield of fortitude, mid ſurrounding ills and dangers, preſents the image of an old knotted oak on the bleak heath, ſhattered by the winter tempeſts ſcowling over its head, blaſted by the lightening, yet venerable in its ruin, diſplaying its injuries with rent trunk and withered branches, a monument of ſublimity, it lifts its towering head with ruined majeſty and melancholy grandeur. It is in the reverſes of fortune a good man is known, a brave and truly great man is proved. What treaſure would the world have been deprived of, what fruits never reaped, had Bacon, Milton, Clarendon, yielded to misfortunes, overwhelmed with diſtreſs, ſunk in deſpondency, inſtead of nobly arming themſelves with that ſhield, ſmiling amid the frowns of fortune, and ſeeking in the

mufes ſhades, that peace and conſolation denied them in the ways of ambition, tumult and mazes of ſordid intereſt, the hackneyed roads of power.

> Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
> Mente quatit ſolida.

Such a man will in the moſt trying ſcenes and perilous ſituations, cry out, *Fiat juſtitia, ruat cœlum!* The reverſe of this picture is given in another part of the ſame author's works:

> Clare, clare, cum dixit, Apollo,
> Labra movet metuens audiri, pulchra Laverna,
> Da mihi fallere, da ſanctum, juſtumque videri,
> Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.

If men will not play the hypocrite to themſelves, as too often they do to others, after diligent ſearch and examination made into every receſs of the heart, they may attain knowledge of themſelves ſufficient for the diſcharge of all the moral duties. But let them remember, that there is no more infallible way of diſſembling to themſelves, than practiſing diſſimulation to others; if the maſk is once put on, it is not ſo eaſy to lay it aſide.

As we have ſeen a monarch, whoſe firm purpoſes no reverſe of fortune could alter, no change ſhake, ſo are there to be found in hiſtory recorded

those, whom her profusest smiles could never transport beyond themselves. Vespasian and Titus were happy in preserving a little country villa, that they inherited from their ancestors; and those great masters of the world did not find too narrow an accommodation in a house which had been built but for a private individual. Chancellor Bacon, on receiving a visit from Q. Elizabeth, in a country house which he had built before his elevation, and her remarking its small size, replied, that it was not him that had built his house too small, but her Majesty that had made him too great for his house.

In our struggles with the adverse blows of fortune, it is not for us, if we consult our quiet and happiness, to suffer hope and fear alternately, to seize and convulse our distracted frame, striving for the mastery; but rather that hope should be the predominant, and fear the subordinate passion. Well conceived was the fable of Pandora's box, which she gave, charged with all the ills of life, to Epimetheus, in revenge for his elder brother Prometheus's having stolen Jove's authentic fire, that he might impregnate clay with life. On his opening the box, and giving vent to all the ills it contained, to spread themselves over the face of the

earth, hope was left at the bottom, and here lies the moral and beauty of the fable.

MILTON sums up the dismal horrors of Hell, in these few emphatic words:

> ———Where hope ne'er comes,
> That comes to all;

no place on earth being excluded from that heavenly gift.

SATAN's sensations on the contemplation of the beauties of Paradise, and its yet innocent inhabitants, are comprised in these words,

> Able to drive all sadness, but despair.

And it is in despair, in his farewell to hope, that the violent agitation of passions, in which he is tossed, terminates, as drawn by the same masterly pen, in the celebrated speech at the opening of the fourth book.

BUT it is from desperate councils, and desponding thoughts, that fallen man, in the convulsions of his Pathos, is represented

> To better hopes his more attentive mind
> Lab'ring to raise.———

THESE moral truths, directed to the mass of the people, the multitude, could they but find their

way to the thrones of Princes, adorn the imperial crown, guide the ſwaying of the ſceptre,—what happy fruits might not be expected to be derived from them to humanity! There have been Trajans and Antonines, thoſe ornaments of human nature.—In proportion to the goods diffuſed round thoſe moving in narrower ſpheres, and in private ſtations, that we have been contemplating, in the exerciſe of virtue, would be the benefits redounding to communities at large, from the union of virtue and the diadem. As from the diſplay of it in ſubordinate ranks and ſtations, we have ſeen the reſult to be the peace of families, of neighbourhoods, the encouragement of induſtry, the decreaſe of poverty and vice, the cheriſhing of charity and hoſpitality; ſo from its acceſs to the thrones of Princes, from its admittance to their councils, and thence baniſhing pride and ambition, thoſe banes of ſociety, would it enſure the peace of nations, extend the olive branch, turn ſwords into ploughſhares, ſpears into pruning-hooks, breathe mild laws, cultivate the arts and ſciences, and with them adorn enlightened humanity; then we ſhould ſee monarchs as the fathers of their people, as crowned citizens, their authority adding to the common good. Before ſuch fame as this, would ſoon vaniſh and diſappear the fame of bloody and deſtructive conquerors: From ſuch an union of

morals and polities, would flow the happineſs of men, the peace of nations, the tranquillity and repoſe of the univerſe.

The hiſtory of mankind appears like a vaſt wilderneſs of errors and vices, virtue and truth rarely interſperſed in the wild ſcenery, the ſeeds of them thinly ſcattered up and down: or, the review of paſt ages appears like a long and dark night, through the thick ſhades of which the rays of thoſe two bright luminaries have pierced but faintly, their gleams have been but languid and of ſhort duration. The voice of philoſophy has proved too weak againſt the cries and tumults of ſuch multitudes; the voice of religion itſelf has been of as little avail, often made no uſe of in the wreck and convulſions of time, the havoc and devaſtation of ages, and as oft, from the abuſe of it, the ſource of much of the calamities complained of.

As this enquiry began from Socrates, ſo to him muſt it return. He is the father of morals, as Homer is of poetry. He taught in them, more by his example, than his divine precepts. His guardian demon, tho' fictitious, and he convinced of the fiction, he never failed to conſult before entering on his actions, that he might be ſatisfied of their rectitude and moral tendency.

Longinus recommends, in our advances to the ſublime in writing, this queſtion to be put to ourſelves, How would Homer have expreſſed himſelf on this ſubject?—So in our aims at moral ſublimity, in the ſame manner we may aſk ourſelves, How would Socrates have acted on this occaſion?

Added to all his other ſingular virtues and qualities, Socrates poſſeſſed the military art in a moſt eminent degree, and often ſucceſsfully exerted it in the defence of his country. In undergoing fatigue, in enduring the inclemency of the weather, by neglecting the ordinary precautions of dreſs to fortify himſelf againſt it, he was carried to a degree of exceſs and enthuſiaſm ſcarcely conceivable.

In one of the engagements where he bore ſo active a part, that at Delium, where the Athenians were overcome by the Bœotians, and great ſlaughter was committed among their troops, he ſignalized his courage both in the battle and retreat. In the latter, he did not precipitately fly, as the reſt of the army did, but retired inch by inch, with his face ſtill towards the enemy, as Ajax in the Iliad; when, perceiving Xenophon thrown from his horſe, and wounded, he took him upon his ſhoulders, and carried him out of the midſt of

the danger. Xenophon afterwards ſhewed that he profited as much by his maſter's example in the field as in the ſchool, by the conduct and addreſs he ſo remarkably diſplayed in the memorable retreat of the Greeks out of Aſia. What a picture is here exhibited! The maſter and diſciple both eminently diſtinguiſhed for their martial exploits beyond their contemporaries, at the ſame time both advanced to the higheſt fame in the walks of philoſophy! The maſter preſerving the life of the diſciple, that the diſciple in return might render immortal his maſter, in the records he has tranſmitted to poſterity of his actions and precepts.

Had Xenophon been ſilent, Plato would have borne ample teſtimony to the tranſcendent merits of that great man. The generous competition, the honeſt ſpirit of emulation diſplayed by thoſe rival diſciples, in diſcharging the debt of gratitude to their maſter and benefactor, in that juſt retribution, in the payment of the tribute due to his memory, is at once the richeſt ſource of profit and delight to the ingenuous reader.

FINIS.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.